

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXII, No. 1

Total Number 318

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for January 1943

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS	<i>H. P. J.</i>	2
EDITORIAL COMMENT	<i>A. W.</i>	4
FIGHTING FRONT ON MAIN STREET <i>Mary Draper, Juliet Fleischl, Barbara Gair</i>		6
KANSAS CITY GOES A-POLLING	<i>Loren B. Miller</i>	12
RENT CONTROL IN 1943	<i>James Simsarian</i>	17
ALBERTA TRIES CONSOLIDATION	<i>Winston W. Crouch</i>	21
ON THE LOCAL FRONT	<i>Zilpha C. Franklin</i>	26
THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST: JANUARY		29
CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW		31
NEWS IN REVIEW		32
Editors: <i>H. M. Olmsted</i> , City, State, Nation, 32; <i>Elwood N. Thompson</i> , Citizen Action, 38; <i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i> , County and Township, 44; <i>Wade S. Smith</i> , Taxation and Finance, 47; <i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i> , Proportional Representation, 50		
BOOKS IN REVIEW	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	54

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League Holds Annual Election

The annual meeting of the Council of the National Municipal League was held December 22 at the Hotel St. Regis in New York where the members were dinner guests of Carl H. Pforzheimer, League treasurer and chairman of the Steering Committee. The meeting was in lieu of the regular annual meeting of the membership and the annual National Conference on Government which the Council vetoed earlier in the year in order to comply with the government's request that conventions be curtailed because of the transportation emergency.

The report of the Nominating Committee, composed of Frederick L. Bird, Chairman, Philip Cornick, Arnold Frye, John S. Linen, and Ralph B. Maltby, was presented by Dr. Bird as follows:

"For President: John G. Winant, Ambassador to Great Britain

First Vice President: George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion

Treasurer: Carl H. Pforzheimer, Purchase, New York

Secretary: Howard P. Jones, Grandview, New York

"For Members of the Council: (*indicates new members)

Richard S. Childs, manufacturer and civic leader, New York City, *Chairman*

George Arents, Rye, Westchester County, New York

Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Hartford

James L. Beebe, civic leader, former president of Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce

Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet

*Henry Bruere, president of the Bowery Savings Bank, treasurer and trustee of Institute of Public Administration, New York City

*J. W. Clise, president of the Asbestos Supply Company, trustee of the Seattle Municipal League

John Cowles, president of the *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, director of The Associated Press

Lt. Colonel Karl Detzer, chief of the Division of Technical Information, Services of Supply, Washington, D. C.

Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., *The Queen's Work*, St. Louis

C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin

Clarence Francis, president of General Foods Corporation, formerly commissioner of finance, Bronxville, New York

Arnold Frye, attorney, New York City

Albert W. Hawkes, U. S. Senator from New Jersey

C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pennsylvania, trustee of the C. F. Taylor Trust, honorary secretary of the Proportional Representation League

Colonel Robert W. Johnson, District Chief of Ordnance Department, New York City

Francis V. Kessling, civic leader and chairman of Board of Freeholders which drafted San Francisco's present charter

*Gerard B. Lambert, formerly advisor to Federal Housing Administration, Princeton, New Jersey

John S. Linen, vice president of Chase National Bank, New York City

Ralph B. Maltby, president of the St. Regis Paper Company, mayor of Bronxville, New York

Mark Matthews, attorney, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Washington, D. C., and Mt. Kisco, New York

*Stratford Lee Morton, Chairman of St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee for Revision of the Missouri Constitution

John Nuveen, Jr., president of John Nuveen & Company, Chicago
 Fred N. Oliver, general counsel for the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, New York

Thomas I. Parkinson, president of the Equitable Insurance Company, New York City

Frank L. Polk, attorney, New York City
 Lawson Purdy, president of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City
 Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati
 Henry L. Shattuck, state legislator; senior fellow of President and Fellows of Harvard University

Harold E. Stassen, Governor of Minnesota
 Henry M. Waite, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D. C.
 Russell E. Watson, attorney and civic leader, New Brunswick, New Jersey
 Richard Weil, Jr., president of L. Bamberger & Company, Newark; active in New Jersey governmental improvement efforts

"The following Council members are retained by virtue of their being past presidents: Richard S. Childs, Harold W. Dodds, C. A. Dykstra, Frank L. Polk, Lawson Purdy, Murray Seasongood, and Henry M. Waite.

"The following members of the Council have served three years and therefore are not eligible under the constitution to succeed themselves: R. J. Colbert, Philip Cornick, Harry Drackett, Robert C. Hendrickson, Anne M. Mumford, Norman S. Taber, and H. B. Wells.

"For *Honorary Vice Presidents*: (*indicates new nominees)

Charles A. Beard, historian, New Milford, Connecticut
 H. L. Brittain, managing director of the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research

Charles C. Burlingham, former president of New York Board of Education
 Harold S. Bottenheim, editor of *The American City*, New York City
 Harry Woodburn Chase, chancellor of New York University

*Harry Drackett, president of Cincinnati City Charter Committee
 John N. Edy, assistant commissioner for administration, Federal Public Housing Authority, Washington, D. C.

Samuel S. Fels, trustee of C. F. Taylor Trust, Philadelphia
 Mayo Fesler, director of the Citizens League of Cleveland
 Russell Forbes, vice president of Air Cargo, Inc., New York City
 A. R. Hatton, University of Texas; former chairman of the Department of Political Science, Northwestern University

*Robert C. Hendrickson, member of the New Jersey Senate
 Frank O. Lowden, former Governor of Illinois, Sinnissippi
 Seabury C. Mastick, former State Senator, Pleasantville, New York
 Charles E. Merriam, chairman of the Department of Political Science of the University of Chicago; vice chairman of the National Resources Planning Board
 Frank H. Morse, Lehman Brothers, New York City

William E. Mosher, dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

*Anne M. Mumford, executive secretary of the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles

W. B. Munro, California Institute of Technology
 Chester H. Rowell, San Francisco *Chronicle*
 Miss Belle Sherwin, formerly president of the National League of Women Voters, Willoughby, Ohio

Mrs. F. Louis Slade, New York City

Charles P. Taft, assistant director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare services

Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

Richard Welling, director of the National Self-Government League, New York City

"President Winant is nominated for re-election on condition, stipulated by him last year, that matters of immediate concern which ordinarily would be deter-

(Continued on page 53)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Sound Decision

THE decision of the War Labor Board that it has no authority over the wages of municipal employees and that it has no right to act in disputes between municipalities and employees' organizations is a heartening indication that there may now be a cessation and perhaps a reversal of the trend which inevitably was leading to the practical destruction of local self-government.

It was disquieting that the board saw fit in the first place to take jurisdiction over the dispute of the City of Newark and its garbage handlers. Had the board decided it could act and had it acted in favor of the workers who had been on strike, the decision would have set an exceedingly dangerous precedent, especially in wartime, and would have been taken as recognition of the right of public employees to strike—a right which has been consistently denied by courts, public law officers, and by prominent officials including the President himself.

Such action also would have contributed further to the destruction of local government's control over its purse, a vital control which has been gradually eaten away by state laws providing mandatory expenditures and by the usurping by state and nation of new sources of tax revenue. Budget-making in many cities has become a constantly more difficult problem because of these trends.

If a federal agency were to be permitted to increase local government

costs beyond a community's ability to pay and beyond the state constitutional tax limitation, finis would have been written indeed to local self-government.

Another federal agency, the Office of Price Administration, has been less wise and statesmanlike than the War Labor Board. The OPA has forbidden Berkeley, California, to increase its charge for garbage collection, and San Diego, California, to impose a tax of ten cents a day on house trailers in the city.

These decisions constitute an outrageous and unwarranted usurpation of powers which should be purely local. It has become difficult for many cities whose expenses have been increased by the presence of war industries to pay these added costs out of the real estate tax. This difficulty has been aggravated in some instances by the removal of government-operated factories from the tax rolls and by the payment of inadequate service fees "in lieu of taxes" on public housing developments.

Cities will object no more than individuals to the making of sacrifices and the surrender of normal rights—when they are *necessary*. But it seems obvious that city governments, of necessity, will keep close control over wages and other expenses and that they can be trusted to run their affairs in a manner which will not interfere with the conduct of the war.

It would help if the national gov-

ernment would adopt a policy in its relations with municipalities and have it followed by all departments and agencies. The impact of the war on local government is great but one which can generally be endured if

it is not needlessly aggravated. Developments like these add to the fear that the post-war period will witness a strenuous struggle to retain much semblance of genuine local self-government.

Cogent Advice for Cities

THERE has been some tendency among states and cities to reduce taxes, a trend which is greeted with natural enthusiasm by the home owner who is wishing he had saved enough from his 1942 salary to pay the federal income tax which will be due this year.

One debt-ridden community of 10,000 is a case in point. With a debt so large that for years its debt service will cost at least \$500,000 annually, it is preparing to translate its reduced budget into immediate tax reductions. Such a course would fly in the face of advice that state and local taxes not be reduced, for this would be of no help in closing the inflationary gap. This community would prepare itself better to endure the sacrifices of total war and whatever difficulties will follow if it would, in a period of apparent prosperity, concentrate on getting its debt under control.

Dr. Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet, recently gave American cities some cogent advice during an address at a symposium conducted by the Tax Institute.¹ It is quoted in part:

"First: Municipalities are the con-

gested, complicated centers of war goods production and transportation. They cannot afford to break down. Every effort needs to be made to maintain health, safety, and efficiency of movement. This is what should dictate the making of budgets and raising of revenues, rather than tax reduction as a primary objective. However, if under the pressure of necessity new ways of economizing can be discovered we will have made a long-term gain.

"Second: There may be some question about building up postwar reserves, but there should be none about the responsibility of getting rid of existing deficits and avoiding the incurrence of new deficits. This means, among other things, abandonment of long-term borrowing for unemployment relief which still persists in a few areas.

"Third: There may be considerable doubt as to the advisability of accumulating large funds for postwar construction. There should be none about the responsibility for meeting debt obligations from current revenues when they fall due. A number of cities are considering postponement of their obligations by refunding. If they do this they not only violate sound principles of debt administration, but by failing to take this op-

¹*Wartime Problems of State and Local Finance*, Proceedings of the symposium, will be available shortly through the Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Fighting Front on Main Street

Community councils can make for healthier towns in peace as well as war; assuming responsibility for solving local problems is a good democratic habit.

By MARY DRAPER, JULIET FLEISCHL, BARBARA CAIR

THIS summer we helped set up a War Community Council in Clarion, Iowa. The Council centralizes the town's war activities and gives every citizen a job to do to help win the war.

We're from New York. We went to Iowa to see how the war is fought in the middle west. The people out there are showing that they have the spunk and brains to win the war where we all have to fight it—on Main Street.

It all began back in February 1942, our senior year at Vassar College. We wanted war jobs after graduation. And we felt that too much energy was concentrated in Washington. Surely some of it should be used "out there" in the thousands of small towns throughout the nation.

Maybe we could take root in a representative community, get a job—waitress, salesgirl, reporter—settle down and become working members of the town. After learning its war problems we could work with the people there and help set up a democratic effective mechanism to solve them.

We went to Washington during our spring vacation for expert advice. After four days of interviewing government officials we wound up in the Department of Agriculture. Its representatives thought a mid-west town would be most receptive both to us and a dynamic unified war program.

They urged us to try out our plan under the guidance of their field workers.

After two months of correspondence, William Stacey at Ames, Iowa, showed most interest. So on June 20, after graduation, we pointed our car toward the state where the tall corn grows.

During our five days stay at Ames, extension workers supplied us with information on community organization. They introduced us to community councils as a method of unifying the resources of a community. After comprehensive mental tours of the state they picked out Clarion as a representative and receptive town.

On July 4 we arrived. Clarion is a rural trading center with three thousand inhabitants. It is the county seat of Wright County; it has no industry, no extremes of wealth or poverty.

Our first problem was to find a bread-and-butter job. Ames had told us to call on Rev. Ralph Beebe, Congregational minister. We introduced ourselves as three Vassar girls who wanted to see what the middle west was like.

"Hope you can stay a while," he welcomed us cordially. "One thing we need is a summer recreation program for children. So many of the children don't have much to do now. The school playground isn't in use and you could use it."

We'd all worked in eastern camps in past summers. Maybe our means of livelihood could be a day camp. How could we round up campers?

Camping at Home

Mr. Beebe offered us his Sunday school list as a starter. We were determined to ring all the doorbells we could in one week and see what happened. And we rang plenty of them. We began to find our own way and meet the people and get acquainted. We had a stock speech about the value of group activity for youngsters which we delivered brightly to any housewife who so much as opened her door a crack.

Our business arrangements were simple. Two dollars a week for regular attendance Monday through Friday from nine-thirty to five; one dollar for half-days.

By the end of the week news of the three Vassar girls who were running a day camp had blanketed the town. We had signed up about thirty-five boys and girls between three and ten years of age. Bright and early on the morning of July 13 we inaugurated "Camp at Home in Clarion."

The natural friendliness of the townspeople made us feel at home almost at once. After three weeks of making friends, running the day camp, and improving our cooking, we decided to launch the summer offensive. Our first war call was on the county chairman of civilian defense. We asked him if there was any way we could help him with his program.

"Honestly, girls, I don't think we're going to be bombed out here, so what's the use of any program? Besides it's summer and people don't

like to be bothered by the war."

We were undaunted. "There are a lot of other things to be done, don't you think? Take gas rationing—maybe more information on its necessity will win more coöperation when it's needed."

"Why should people make sacrifices to a government that's always bungling?" demanded the OCD chairman. "I suppose I'll have to start something in a couple of months. I'll call on you then if you're still around. I can get all the help I want from organizations in town but I've got to have something for them to do first."

That was our exit cue. Although we were crushed by his lack of enthusiasm, he gave us our clue to the next step. If, as he said, other organizations were anxious to coöperate on a local war program, perhaps they would be willing to sponsor a coördinated effort on their own.

We drew up a list of every organized group in town—study clubs, civic groups, churches, service organizations, lodges, the school, etc. For the next three weeks we made after-hour calls on the leader of each of these groups. Everyone agreed on the need for a well coördinated community war program. Unifying the war efforts of the individual organizations won unanimous approval.

The county agent said he'd been trying to get this kind of thing started for eight months. "Last year we had four different organizations handling the scrap metal drive," he said, "and that's just one example of overlapping. We need a clearing house or the same thing will happen again."

"If we can have a war program in

this town that'll give every man and woman a specific job to do, I'm all for it," one prominent church leader told us. "The trouble so far has been that a few people have done all the work. Yet everyone is anxious to do something. They just haven't known what to do."

Need for Coordination

An active member of the American Legion emphasized the need for one war fund drive. "People get tired of being approached every other day for a different relief organization. We ought to consolidate all the drives into one and then allocate the funds to the different organizations. It would save time and energy and probably raise more money in the end."

With thirty-seven representative people in accord, the next problem was to find a leader—someone who could make concrete plans, call a meeting of all the leaders we'd interviewed, and see that an organization was formed to overcome past difficulties. Of all the people we'd called on one man stood out as the most enthusiastic. A respected business man, we thought he possessed leadership qualities. We made a second call on him and asked him if he'd be willing to start action. At that point "action" meant chairing a mass meeting of leaders.

"You could have a dinner at the hotel. Charge about fifty cents. People will come if they've invested in a meal beforehand. Might start off with a song to loosen things up. Then have dinner for an hour, then the meeting for a couple of hours, then go home. I'll tell you, girls, let me mull it over for a while. I'll

sit down in my back yard, give it some serious thought, and call you in a couple of days."

It didn't bother us that there was no mention of preliminary planning for the meeting. A native Clarionite had almost consented to carry the ball. That was all that mattered.

We saw one more task before us. Get the support of the most respected man in town. Golden tongued orator and town father, his sanction would help the plan immensely. It would be our last call, we felt sure. And it almost was. After we had described the enthusiastic responses from the townspeople, he inquired, "Just who or what organization sent you girls out here? You must admit it's unusual for three girls to come into a strange town and within thirty days start organizing a movement."

We explained our innocent history but he refused to bend. Visions of being tarred and feathered obsessed us as we left his office. Luckily, it was too late for his suspicion to be any real threat to the plan. Too many other people were behind it.

The prospective leader never came through. Since he was a close friend of our accuser, he was probably influenced by him in his decision "not to run."

We were stumped momentarily. But Ames came to our rescue and advised us to ask one of the leading women in town, member of the State Board of Education, to call the citizens most interested in the plan together at her house. That was a change in tactics. Instead of asking one person to shoulder full responsibility, we would merely ask her to be one of several on a steering com-

mittee. She agreed to call seven other representative citizens to her house the following evening, with the stipulation that we present to them the results of our interviews and start the discussion.

Clarionites Take Over

"We've got to be good. . . . We've got to be intelligent. . . . We've got to be convincing. . . . We've got to put it across . . ." ran through our minds as we prepared our speeches. But that's where we were mistaken. Once we'd introduced the subject the eight "steerers" took over. We barely uttered a word all evening. After reviewing past problems, they drew up concrete organization plans. They met on two other occasions to complete these plans and work out an agenda for the meeting of organization heads—the same men and women that we had interviewed. Postcards mimeographed by Mr. Beebe and personal phone calls by the eight "steerers" urged people to come to the Courthouse Wednesday evening, September 2, for an "emergency war meeting."

Before the meeting speculations about our connections had increased. Evidently our accuser had done some talking among his friends. Conflicting rumors of Nazi affiliations and FBI assignments flew. Since the eight steerers had asked us to present the formulated plans to the mass meeting, a personal clean slate was essential. Otherwise people might reject the organization because of our connection with it.

But when Wednesday night came, the meeting went perfectly. Just about every organization sent a dele-

gate. Fifty-five men and women spent three hours talking over and working out the best possible local war program. First on the agenda was a letter from our friends in Ames describing our motives and purpose in coming to Clarion. Read aloud by the chairman, it scotched all suspicion about us.

Again the citizens ran the show as soon as we'd presented the tentative organization plans. They listened intently to each other and expressed their opinions freely. It had all the spirit of a cracker barrel discussion or a town hall jamboree. No one sounded off, either. Everything said related itself to the need for community war organization and the methods of establishing it.

The meeting voted unanimously to give the plan a trial and elected ten men and women as an executive committee. The administrative board is made up of as many interest groups in Clarion as possible. Rev. Marion Kilpatrick, Presbyterian minister, was later elected chairman; the other members were State Senator G. R. Hill; Frank Reilly, lawyer and head of the Red Cross; newspaper editor Laurence Jaqua; School Superintendent C. J. Christianson; Frank Sullivan, active lodge member; Mrs. Roy Williamson, head of the Navy Mothers; Mrs. Wilkinson, head of the VFW auxiliary; Mrs. Whitlock, prominent in the Catholic Church and the Railroad Sisterhoods; and, last but far from least, Mrs. George Kyseth, the woman who'd been willing to start the ball rolling by calling the eight steerers together.

Beneath the Board of Ten stands the group of all organization repre-

sentatives, like the one which met in the Courthouse that Wednesday evening. This larger group will have the functions of a town council. From time to time it will review the work of the Board of Ten.

Block Organization

The field workers of the organization are the ward captains and block lieutenants. The four ward captains are each in command of one of the city wards. Under them come the block lieutenants, one man or woman in every square block. For every war campaign the captains and their lieutenants enlist the aid of every Clarion family by canvassing them individually. The lieutenants also distribute printed information on war programs and announcements of educational forums.

How does this structure work? Suppose the American Legion wants to conduct a tin-foil campaign. Its commander brings the proposed salvage before the Board of Ten. They know if any other club is collecting tin-foil or plans to in the future. If all wires are clear the American Legion can launch its drive enlisting the aid of the army of block lieutenants. Full credit for the campaign will go to the American Legion.

Thus the organization will serve as a clearing house for all war projects. That is half its job. The other half, equally important, lies in its ability to sponsor new and needed war activities. Since no one is undertaking a consumer program, they may give a fashion show for the women illustrating what to wear and buy without injuring the total war program.

By the end of September block

lieutenants were appointed, a well organized fat campaign was under way, the lieutenants had collected money for an honor roll of Clarion boys in the service, plans were laid for an extensive education program on war issues. The Council moved full steam ahead. Its leaders and lieutenants looked forward to a year of hard, constructive work. We were superfluous. The Board of Ten did not invite us to their meetings. Our stimulus was no longer needed. At best we had been, as one of the citizens put it, "a mild burr under the saddle." It was time to leave.

The idea of community councils to solve community problems isn't new. During the last war, war councils were pushed by the government—two months before the Armistice. Woodrow Wilson gave them his unqualified support because he believed they built unity of purpose and effort and extended the "common cause" to every citizen.

But two months didn't give them a chance to take root. It was too little and too late. That's why we need action now from the communities in starting these home-front fighting plans, from the government in encouraging and helping actively the towns and villages to set up their councils. Community mobilization has not been realized. Our civilian war effort is not forging ahead.

With central war councils in every town, village, and hamlet important government programs can be piped out to the people. Instead of a new chairman popping up with every campaign, a dependable community committee can handle all new programs. Instead of a griping "why should I?"

attitude, people can know why they are called on to do certain things.

Community councils can make for healthier towns in peace as well as war. Taking the initiative, assuming the responsibility for solving local problems, is a good democratic habit. Civic groups and organizations can better serve their communities if they work together instead of alone and at cross purposes. Latent leadership can come to the fore. Beginning as war councils for solving war problems may be a small beginning, but it is a significant beginning.

Let the government figure out a chockful program of civilian participation. Let the government send out a few trained workers, "burrs under the saddle," to help set up overall councils in a few representative towns. If the programs get widespread recognition and publicity, other communities will follow suit.

"Prime movers" are needed now. Ordinary citizens may see the need for mobilization but they hesitate to start a new and overall plan. They may not know how, and as a Clarionite said: "If I had tried to push this idea at the start, people would say, 'there he goes, trying to run the town.' I have to think twice about my professional and social reputation. It's a good idea, sure. But it's a new idea and one that'll affect a lot of neighbors and customers."

Competent workers from outside

the town don't have this to worry about. As our civilian war effort stands now, communities need guidance and initial push.

It's the national objective to galvanize all our efforts to total war. It's the national effort to bring every last man and woman into the fight. Why not, then, seek a practical way of reaching citizens, of enlisting their participation?

EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 5)

portunity to reduce their debts they are missing an excellent opportunity to build up postwar reserves—by cutting down fixed charges in future budgets and by building up reserve borrowing power.

"Fourth: The problems of war-time are disclosing or emphasizing weaknesses in budget and bond laws, in methods of fiscal administration, in the operation of revenue systems. They are showing that some state regulatory legislation is a handicap to cities and that many states have been negligent in their responsibilities to their municipalities. There could be no better time for the correction of these defects than the present, when the defects are so evident and the feeling of responsibility is strong.

"If we take care of these fundamentals now we contribute not only to winning the war but to solving the problems which will come later."

Kansas City Goes A-Polling

Its citizens believe public opinion polling has a place in local as well as in national government—and are acting on that belief.

By LOREN B. MILLER

Director, Kansas City (Missouri) Civic Research Institute

POLLING, or more accurately measuring, public opinion is an accepted national activity. Gallup and *Fortune* have served to make the idea a normal day-to-day part of American life. "Pulse of the nation" has been transformed from ear-to-the-ground biarticulate dexterity to the more austere sanctity of the social sciences.

Few there are who would question the fact that it is done, should be done, or the highly consistent accuracy of results. To read in one's morning paper Dr. Gallup's consensus of what America thinks causes no more, in fact less, wonderment or bewilderment than the vagaries of the Dodgers on the sporting page. A new curiosity has found acceptance through proof of reliability. We wonder what the country thinks about such and such—or so and so—well, what do the polls say?

But at least one curious anomaly has remained in this situation. Accepted as part of the national scene, there was little effort to transfer the same technique to the field of local government. It could be argued that opinion research directly served the democratic process, and we long have propounded that democracy begins at home, that local government is the cradle of democracy. Yet there seemed no effort to associate the two. Was there any reason opinion polling

should be just a national event? Was there any reason for it not to be applicable and useful in a specific locality?

Kansas City thinks there isn't any reason. Kansas City, today, is in gear to poll its citizens as assiduously as Dr. Gallup or Mr. Roper may poll the national citizen. Kansas City believes opinion polling has as much a place in local government as in national government—and is acting on the belief.

More than that, the Civic Research Institute believes this to be a proper function to add to its twenty-year record of municipal research as a service to the community. The Institute believes it is proper for it to do opinion research, *and most proper for opinion research to be done by it.* The Institute has initiated the first continuing local opinion poll, not to predict local elections, but because we believe there is a genuine need, that it can serve a legitimate purpose.

As a matter of fact, diligent thought serves to show no reason why opinion research is not just as valid in every respect in local government as in national. First, the process of methodology certainly is equally appropriate in the one field as in the other. Numbers may affect the rules of probability, but the rules of probability are not limited to numbers in terms of millions. A controlled sam-

ple can as well be created locally as nationally. Secondly, there is no dearth of problems pressing for attention in our community organization and operation, nor are these problems any less worthy of every technique and approach we can bring to bear. Local opinion research needs no excuse of wartime to justify its usefulness, but certain it is that war and prospective postwar problems have created conditions which would make the use of every facet, including opinion research, imperative.

A Voice for the Citizen

Opinion research offers local government a number of definite values. One of these is its value in giving the citizen a continuous means by which his voice can be heard. Opinion research is specific—in focus and in time. As long as elections remain infrequent, accurate reflection of public will must remain dubious almost in exact proportion to that infrequency except by process of guesswork. In measuring public opinion on any issue, an election is much more likely to occur at the wrong time than at the right time. In addition, elections seldom focus opinions to give a clear, unqualified answer. Usually issues are multiple, of varying importance. Elections can reflect only composite or average opinion; what an election means on a specific issue may or may not be determinable with more than guesswork.

In contrast, opinion research is available when needed, when the issue is current. Opinion research is specific; opinions can be measured on one issue or on a dozen.

A corollary is the value of opinion research as a counter-pressure to the influence and effects of minority pressure groups. All too frequently vocal minority pressure groups can wield an influence out of all proportion to actual strength; what they demand, and often get, may not be what the public as a whole wants. The squeaky wheel still gets the grease. Of course, it can be argued these questions also are of interest to all citizens and that if they are interested enough they should act in their own behalf. A truism perhaps, but not a practical reality. Whether all citizens should be as equally alert and active as those with immediate direct interest need not be argued—they won't be to the same extent merely because the benefit and harm are not proportional. But here again opinion research can reflect the wishes of all citizens. It would be worth while if it had no other value than to offset, or match, the voice of special interests with the voice of all the people.

Opinion research has other values even more important. It serves to establish bench marks—bench marks of expectation, of performances against expectation, of trend and change. It serves to keep conscientious officials in touch with the thinking of their constituents and certainly this is of real value, for no matter how sincere the official, he still has a serious problem in keeping his thinking attuned to that of the people.

Finally, opinion research has particular significance not in reporting opinion but as a new and additional tool to probe some of the dark cor-

ners, the unknown quantities, of democratic society in operation. It offers an avenue toward information, now lacking and sorely needed, obtainable by no other approach. Tremendous problems—now and post-war—beset our local governments. Shifting tides of population change community character, old residents leave, new ones must be assimilated. The impact of federal war finance requirements is creating new situations in local finance and in citizen tax-consciousness. Old problems too long ignored—housing, blight, decentralization—can be ignored but little longer.

Is the Citizen Informed?

Equal are the potentialities in learning, not what the citizen thinks or wants, but what he knows and doesn't know. Elmo Roper has well said that one of the principal values of opinion research is not to measure and report public opinion but to reflect areas of ignorance so that other social processes—education, press, radio—can be directed with greater effectiveness. New guides can be established to measure the effectiveness of citizen preparation and citizen interest. Perhaps we can learn not only whether he is interested but why he is interested or not, the factors influencing him to reach the position he has taken. Perhaps we can begin to find out some of the things that make the citizen tick. Small, but highly interesting beginnings already are being noted, yet it is "only the beginning."

If it then be granted that opinion research offers new values in the

operation of local government, the second question is whether it fits the concept and program of citizen research bureaus or other citizen organizations sufficiently to be accepted by them as part of their service. Kansas City believes the reasons supporting its action are universally applicable.

Concepts of citizen research have tended to make a shibboleth of factualness and impartialness. But certainly in neither of these respects should opinion research cause concern. It is as "factual" as anything research bureaus do. And certainly impartialness is as much a requisite for successful opinion research as for anything now included within the scope of citizen research bureaus.

In addition, it obviously and definitely is a matter of "citizen concern." During the past several years many citizen research bureaus have experienced a decided re-appreciation of their rôle as "instruments of citizen control." The research bureau stands as the bridge over the gap between the citizen and his government. It interprets and reports his government to the citizen. Also, whether or not it correctly reflects public will, it does try to reflect independent, expert opinion on the problems of government. What more natural than that the research bureau also should reflect the opinion of *all* citizens on those issues where the opinion of all citizens counts? After all, there are a few questions which even an expert cannot answer adequately.

All this practically answers at the same time why citizen research agen-

cies are the ones to undertake this work. The work must be factual, impartial. Research bureaus are free of the bias of special "pressure" objectives, free of press deadlines, of necessity for eye-catching headlines, of profit necessity. Research bureaus are among the few agencies able to undertake this work solely because it is a community benefit. Created in concept to represent the general citizen viewpoint they are, in fact, ideally equipped to undertake opinion research for its maximum community benefit.

Care is, of course, necessary. It is acknowledged there still is much to learn. Mistakes may be made, false steps taken; wrong questions might be asked, or at the wrong time, or the wrong use made of material. But these are faults of execution, not principle, and if they happen, mean merely the error made is to be detected and avoided the next time, not that the work should be condemned in its own right as a failure.

Kansas City Polls

This article is not intended as a review of the work undertaken or the results obtained, yet a brief picture may be in order. Four opinion surveys have been completed in Kansas City, the fifth is in preparation. The first was purely experimental, designed and conducted by the regular Institute staff in one of the city's four councilmanic districts during the city election last May. The second was conducted for the Institute by the National Opinion Research Center (University of Denver); those since

by the Institute's opinion specialist.

Results from the second survey already have been fairly well covered by Institute bulletins. In general three topics were covered: (1) a barometer of opinion toward each of the local governments (indicating a higher opinion of schools and city than of the county) and levels of opinion against which later changes and trends can be measured; (2) knowledge or lack of knowledge—mostly the latter—concerning the structure of county government, i.e., whether certain offices were filled by election or appointment and identification of incumbent officers; and (3) opinion, in the absence of any concerted campaign, on certain broad questions of policy such as election or appointment of county administrative officers, county manager, city-county consolidation, merit versus political appointments. Interesting may be the fact that only the last came through with a clearly decisive margin in favor of merit appointments.

The third and fourth polls had at least one unusual feature in that each was conducted entirely within a single day, one the day before the fall election, the other the day after. In one phase, these polls were designed to measure citizen expectation of voting (suspected of being high) against actual voting performance (known to be low) and the reasons for failure to vote. In addition, the election in Kansas City represented an unusually involved situation with each voter being handed five separate ballots covering a variety of issues as well as candidates. Particularly in the poll

the day before election questions were designed to test citizen awareness and recognition of these issues, with voting intention, against actual voting results.

Results from these last polls now are in the process of tabulation. They are expected to be as interesting, and perhaps as provoking, as any yet developed from the polls. We are, however, already preparing for the next. In connection with a series of departmental studies on which the Institute is now working, and aiming for the next city budget period, it is planned to undertake a careful and rather comprehensive testing of public reaction to specific city services. For one thing, we would like to determine whether the people generally feel that during a war period the different services are more important, less important, or unchanged. We also would like to test awareness of certain city services such as consciousness of participation in health or recreational programs, approval or disapproval of such programs, use of facilities such as a new swimming pool or the municipal auditorium.

We feel that results will give officials for the first time an accurate appraisal of what the citizens want and how many want it. For the first time, all the citizens can be given a voice in the city budget process—

not just those with a special axe to grind.

One small example will illustrate. In preparing the city budget last year an appropriation for maintenance of a memorial "tower" was eliminated as a possible wartime sacrifice. Shortly thereafter protest arose from those specifically interested in the project and in the face of the pressure the appropriation was returned. The amount involved was not great but the illustration of the principle is excellent: what would the public as a whole have said? Whether they would keep it or stop it, they are, or should be, the ones to say so long as they are the ones to pay. Opinion measurement will let us know.

These are but the barest of beginnings. Don Cahalan has been added to the staff as a specialist in public opinion research. More surveys are under way. Many more, too many, press for attention. Our hope is that other citizen organizations will accept the idea as we do that opinion research fits their rôle, will join us. Probably all would not be interested in adding the work as a continuous part of their program. But there are few, if any, who cannot use it to great advantage at least intermittently. There's much to be done. Reactions thus far indicate there soon will be more of us at it.

Rent Control in 1943

Regulations already issued cover areas housing about seventy-five million persons; few places remain in which federal control is not effective.

By JAMES SIMSARIAN
Office of Price Administration

AS AN integral part of the price control program of the Office of Price Administration, rent control is being extended rapidly by the OPA to the many areas in the country where war activities have resulted in increases in rents which are exorbitant and inflationary.

Rent control was first made effective by the OPA in twenty defense-rental areas on June 1 of last year. By December 1 regulations were issued for a total of 353 areas, including Alaska and sections of every state in the country except North Dakota, and covering every large city in the country except New York.

In the case of the first group of twenty areas rents were ordered back to 1941 levels. Since then rents have been pushed back in most cases to the March 1, 1942, level.

The Emergency Price Control Act prescribes the several steps to be followed by the OPA in the rent control program. First, the OPA issues a designation and rent declaration, designating the defense-rental area and recommending the reduction and stabilization of rents. The OPA must wait 60 days for local compliance with the recommendation. If the recommendation is not complied with in this period the OPA issues maximum rent regulations ordering rents pushed back to a 1941 level or to the March 1, 1942, level.

Defense-rental areas have been designated in several groupings by the OPA. The first group of areas was designated on March 2, 1942. On April 28, at the same time as the general maximum price regulation was issued freezing retail prices, the OPA designated a large group of 302 areas, including Alaska and Puerto Rico. Another big move toward rent stabilization was made on October 5, immediately following the issuance of the economic stabilization order of the President. At that time the OPA designated all areas not already named in each of the states, covering the entire United States.

Defense-rental areas have generally been designated on the basis of counties, the areas varying in size from one to ten counties. However, much larger areas than usual were provided for in the case of the forty-five designated October 5.

Of the 353 defense-rental areas under rent control by December 1, 1942, seventy areas had rents ordered back to 1941 levels and the other 283 areas had rents frozen at March 1, 1942. Four 1941 freeze dates have been utilized by the OPA, January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1.

Rent control in the District of Columbia is not being administered under the Price Control Act or the OPA; it is handled by an administrator of

rent control appointed by the Commissioners of the District under an emergency rent statute enacted by Congress and approved by the President on December 2, 1941. This statute pushes rents back to the January 1, 1941, level and provides in considerable detail for a rent control program to be followed by the rent control administrator.

State Legislation

Moves toward local rent control were made in Arizona, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia when rent bills were introduced in the legislature of these states early in 1942.

Rent legislation was enacted in only one state, Virginia, however, and even there requisite action by the Governor to institute the local program provided for has not been taken, with the result that the OPA rent control program is in effect in defense-rental areas in Virginia as in other states. Rent control bills were introduced in the legislatures of several states in 1941, but none was enacted.

Before the enactment of the Price Control Act in January 1942, the OPA actively encouraged the appointment of Fair Rent Committees by mayors in various cities. Some 210 such committees were organized in thirty-four states. Primary functions of such committees were to investigate reported cases of exorbitant rents and to discourage excessive rent demands and certain types of evictions. In the absence of legislation, however, a committee could not deal adequately with persons who disregarded its recommendations.

The story of rent control during the war and postwar period of World War I is fully told in the study published by (the National Municipal League in 1939.¹ Rent control was not set up during that period on a federal scale. There was only a scattering of state statutes, principally in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York, and a few city ordinances, as in Denver and Baltimore. There was rent control in the District of Columbia under acts of Congress.²

Courts on Rent Control

Enforcement of the eviction provisions of the Ball Rent Law, enacted in 1919 for the District of Columbia, resulted in the leading case of *Block v. Hirsh*, decided by the United States Supreme Court two years later.³ This was a suit by a landlord to recover possession from a tenant who refused to vacate in reliance on the right given in the statute to continue in possession. The Supreme Court in a five-four decision upheld the statute as constitutional. In the majority opinion Justice Holmes stated that rent regulation is justified under the police power and does not constitute a taking of property without due process of law.

A favorable decision was given recently by a United States three-judge statutory court in a case con-

¹*Rent Control in War and Peace*, by Edith Berger Drellich and Andrée Emery, 1939.

²During or immediately following World War I, some type of rent control legislation was enacted in nearly all the countries of Europe. During the present war rent control measures have been enacted in Australia, Canada, and Great Britain.

³256 U. S. 135.

cerning the OPA's rent control program. In upholding the constitutionality of rent control, the court opinion stated:⁴

That rent control is necessary to the effective prosecution of the war effort is not open to doubt. It is necessary in order to prevent the disastrous effects of inflation, to protect the families of men in the armed service, to attract workers to vital defense areas, to bring about a fair distribution of essential labor among the several defense areas, and to insure defense workers of housing accommodations at rentals that are not exorbitant. It is necessary to maintain civilian morale and insure the production of necessary armaments.

Under the Price Control Act, when the OPA finds that rent control should be established for a defense-rental area, two regulations are issued for the area: (1) the housing regulation for houses and apartments, and (2) the hotel regulation for hotels, rooming houses, boarding houses, dormitories, auto camps, and trailers. A rent director is generally appointed by OPA for each defense-rental area; in some instances a rent director may have charge of two or three areas. He is in all cases a local person and appoints the members of his staff from the local community. He is given full authority to operate the local area program in accordance with the terms of the two rent regulations and official interpretations from Washington.

An examination of the terms of

rent regulations for the Chicago defense-rental area may serve to illustrate the general program. The maximum rent which may be charged or collected for a house is the rent for that house on March 1, 1942. If the house was not rented on that date, the maximum rent is the last rent during the months of January and February of 1942. If the house was not rented during these two months or on March 1, 1942, the maximum rent is the first paid after March 1, 1942.

Improvements Considered

Where there has been a major capital improvement in a house, say, the addition of a bathroom, after March 1, 1942, but before the effective date of the regulation, which in Chicago was July 1, 1942, the maximum rent is the first rent after this improvement was made. If the house is constructed with priority rating from the War Production Board, and the rent for the house is approved by the WPB in connection with the grant of the priority rating, the maximum rent is either that approved by the WPB or the first rent. In the case of public housing, the maximum rent is determined by the public housing agency on the basis of comparable housing accommodations in the area on March 1, 1942. Rent for Army and Navy housing is fixed by the War and Navy Departments.

When the maximum rent is fixed by the owner of a house, as in the case of the first rent after March 1, 1942, or in the case of the first rent after the major capital improvement discussed above, it is subject to review and reduction by the rent direc-

⁴*Leon Henderson v. Temperance Kimmel.*

tor, as is the fixing of the maximum rent by the public housing agency. A reduction would be ordered by the director if he found that it was higher than those generally prevailing in the area for comparable housing on March 1, 1942.

The rent director has responsibility not only for reviewing maximum rents in certain categories as discussed above, but also for passing upon petitions for adjustment filed by landlords and applications filed by tenants. The rent director is authorized to issue orders on behalf of the price administrator of the OPA increasing or decreasing rents only under grounds set forth in the regulation.

The grounds for the filing of petitions for adjustment by landlords for an increase in the maximum rent include cases of: (1) a major capital improvement on or after the effective date of the regulation; (2) a major capital improvement prior to the freeze date where the rent on the freeze date was fixed by a rental agreement in force at the time of the improvement; (3) a substantial increase in services, furniture, furnishings or equipment, subject to certain requirements; and (4) a rent on the freeze date which was low because of (a) a blood, personal, or other special relationship with the tenant, (b) a lease for a term commencing a year or more before the freeze date, (c) a lease providing a higher rent during other periods of the lease, or (d) seasonal demand.

Tenants may file applications in the office of the rent director for a decrease in the maximum rent: (1) where it is higher than that gener-

ally prevailing in the area on the freeze date in certain specified cases as in the case of a house which was first rented after the freeze date and the first rent was determined by the landlord, or in the case of the rent fixed by a public housing agency; (2) where since the freeze date there has been a substantial deterioration of the house or a substantial decrease in services, furniture, furnishings, or equipment; and (3) where the rent on the freeze date was high because of (a) a blood, personal, or other special relationship with the landlord, (b) a lease which provided for lower rents during other periods of the lease, or (c) seasonal demand. The rent director can also issue orders to decrease maximum rents on his own initiative after notice to the landlord in any of these situations.

The housing rent regulation prohibits the eviction of tenants who are paying their rents except in certain limited situations, as where the tenant commits a nuisance or permits the use of the house for an immoral or illegal purpose or where the landlord intends to demolish the house or substantially alter the house, and it is not possible to do so with the tenants in occupancy. Provision is made to permit eviction proceedings on grounds not specified in the regulation if a certification by the rent director is granted on the petition of a landlord. Such a certification is not issued, however, unless the eviction will not be inconsistent with the purposes of the rent regulation and the Price Control Act.

The hotel rent regulation is gen-

(Continued on page 25)

Alberta Tries Consolidation

Reduction in number of school and rural districts has resulted in greatly improved services as well as in substantial savings in administrative costs.

By WINSTON W. CROUCH

University of California at Los Angeles

CONSOLIDATION of local government units has long been a subject of study and agitation in the United States. The experiences of a neighboring jurisdiction, the Canadian province of Alberta, may well offer some lessons to American students. At least it offers encouragement to consolidation advocates.

Many Albertans have been mindful of the need for enlarging the area of their rural governing units from the time population began flowing into the province in considerable numbers. In the past six years some specific results have been achieved.

Before one can appreciate the consolidation efforts, Alberta's local government structure must be understood.

There are many features that bear a pronounced resemblance to American local government rather than to that of England. Urban government in Alberta is organized in terms of cities, towns, and villages. The mode of operation and functions of these units are similar to their American counterparts.

Rural government, however, presents a mixed picture. There are no counties. The chief self-governing unit in rural areas is the rural municipality, which is somewhat like the townships of the middle west in its geographical layout, organization, and

functions. The size of individual rural municipalities has been expanded twice, but under the 1912 act all rural municipalities were designated as being eighteen miles square unless topographical difficulties prevented. No city, town, or village is included in a rural municipality. The settled portions of the province are now marked out in rural units—in 1941 there were 143 such municipalities.

Rural municipalities are governed by a council of six elected by districts. In American counties the supervisor elected from a district determines the course of all administration within his supervisorial area. Similarly municipal councillors assume the prerogative at least of supervising roads in their districts.

An important officer in the rural municipality is the secretary-treasurer, who serves at the pleasure of the council but whose appointment is subject to the approval of a provincial official, the Minister of Municipal Affairs. Not only does the secretary-treasurer perform the duties indicated by his title, but he acts as relief administrator and dispenser of seed grain subsidies to farmers. In fact his duties have increased heavily. A marked feature of the rural municipality is the continuity in office of the secretary-treasurers even though salaries have not been great—the average in 1940 was \$1,488.

An Alberta rural unit which differs from units in American states is the local improvement district. The financial principle involved is the same as in the special districts found in this country, however: the district is organized to provide services and to collect the cost from property within the district because of benefits enjoyed. A substantial difference lies in the fact that Alberta improvement districts are created by provincial authorities and services are performed by them. This has been an important means for supplying the amenities that local government usually has to offer to thinly populated areas.

Improvement districts may be erected into rural municipalities if population and wealth warrants doing so. Contrariwise, if a rural municipality appears to be unable to continue satisfactorily it may be reduced to the status of an improvement district. The basis of the entire system of local units is the pronounced desire on the part of Canadian provinces to carry all local government services to the people that can be sustained financially.

Two other types of districts, both of which overlap other units of government, are school districts and hospital districts. Both have counterparts in the United States. School districts in Alberta are supervised in their activities by the Ministry of Education. Hospital districts are for the purpose of financing public hospital facilities, usually in areas including a city or town and several rural municipalities and districts. Hospital facilities are made available at very low cost. The tax support of such

hospitals is administered through the Department of Municipal Affairs.

There are two or three differences between the government of the province of Alberta and American states that are of consequence in discussing the consolidation program. First of these is that Alberta, like all Canadian provinces, operates under a parliamentary system. Headed by the Premier, the government can command a majority in the legislature. Administrative departments are headed by ministers who are members of the government and of the legislature. The Department of Education and the Department of Municipal Affairs figure in this discussion.

Administrative Control

Secondly, the province exercises control over and interest in urban and rural governments through the Department of Municipal Affairs. The Alberta department was organized in 1912; its administrative staff is headed by the Deputy Minister. Urban municipalities receive some assistance and supervision from the department, particularly with respect to financial administration. Reports to the department are required and a small staff of inspectors conducts field work.

Rural municipalities and improvement districts are the department's especial concern. While local self-government is encouraged by the department, the government is responsible to the province for the state of affairs in rural areas.

As evidence of local self-government there exist organizations of local officials of the province: one for ur-

ban municipalities, one for rural municipalities. Unlike similar American groups, however, they need not deal directly with the various members of the legislature in seeking needed legislation. The Minister of Municipal Affairs is the spokesman for municipal groups on legislative matters. At the same time he is bound to reflect the general policies of the government.

School Consolidation

For some time Alberta governments have worked on legislation and programs for the consolidation of rural municipalities and of school districts. In 1931 the Association of Municipal Districts went on record as favoring a county system for the province. The government and the department studied the matter and made a proposal the following year which the Association did not support. During the succeeding nine years the matter was studied and discussed but did not result immediately in action.

School consolidation came to attention in 1934 when a select committee of the legislature was appointed to inquire into school financing. The economic depression, of course, made it especially difficult for rural municipalities and schools to operate. A sorry picture was in evidence in these years: teachers' salaries were reduced, many salaries were not paid, buildings fell into disrepair, municipal secretary-treasurers' salaries suffered. The first legislative step towards consolidation was made in 1935 when an act was passed to grant authority to the Minister of Education to establish union districts of two or more districts. No action

was taken under this statute.

The 1936 elections brought in the Social Credit government of William Aberhart. Aside from its program of economic reforms, the Aberhart government has been interested in and has achieved a moderate success with consolidation of rural units. In addition to carrying out the duties of Premier, Mr. Aberhart took the position of Minister of Education. It was not surprising then that the weight of the government was thrown behind school consolidation first.

An addition to the school act outlined the steps to be followed. Consolidated school units are known as divisions and are governed by boards of five members elected from subdivisions or representative districts. The amendment did not specify any maximum or minimum number of school districts to be consolidated in a division—that was to be left to the discretion of the Minister. In practice, divisions have consisted of from twenty-two to 115 districts. The principle on which consolidation has been effected is summed up in the department's statement:

Natural boundaries are taken into consideration as well as the positions of the main highways and roads, and to a certain extent, homogeneity of population. It is not found possible to permit districts to choose the divisions in which they will be included, since a certain uniformity of size has to be maintained and since all rural districts in an area have to be included in some division.

While authority and responsibility for consolidation were vested in the Minister, pains were taken to preserve local popular control over the

conduct of affairs within the divisions. The division board has full control in selecting staffs and financing school operations. It is responsible for providing buildings. School districts and district boards continue, however. The latter make recommendations to the division board.

A superintendent was appointed for each division by the Minister of Education to act in a general supervisory capacity. These superintendents were drawn from the former staff of provincial school inspectors.

The division system was installed with considerable rapidity: nine were created January 21, 1937; ten on February 1, 1938. By 1940 there were forty-six divisions comprising 3,259 districts. The number of teachers employed by the divisions represents a slight increase. When divisions were established 3,236 teachers were employed by the districts; by January 1940 there were 3,380 teachers employed by the divisions.

Several advantages are claimed for the consolidation plan. Savings have been effected in administrative costs. The average cost per pupil per day of attendance and per year is less under division administration. The greatest benefit lies in improved service. Better placement of teachers has been effected where employment is by a board removed from district influences. Improved administration has cleared most salary problems.

Increased attention has been given to high school facilities. In some instances arrangements have been made with village or town high schools to take rural pupils. In a

few sections buses are used to transport pupils. Some dormitories have been provided. Correspondence courses are available as a last resort if none of the other programs are feasible for pupils in a remote area.

A certain amount of tax equalization has been effected by the consolidation program also. Each division board is required to make up an annual budget and the revenue demands are prorated among the municipalities within the division in proportion to the assessed valuation of taxable property. By apportioning costs in this manner and over a large area an approximate equalization has resulted, according to the Ministry of Education figures.

Rural District Consolidation

In 1941 the Minister of Municipal Affairs was able to bring the problem of consolidating rural municipalities into focus. The Municipal District Act of 1926 permitted the Minister to create rural municipalities and to alter their boundaries, but consolidation was not visualized at that time. A 1938 amendment to this act permitted two or more rural municipalities to be consolidated. This provision gave only a part of the power needed, because it was found that joining of existing units as wholes was not desirable in every instance. In 1941 the Minister was authorized to add portions of rural municipalities and improvement districts to others.

It may be of some significance to note that the act directed that all questions of division or apportionment were subject to the decision of the Minister without appeal. Actu-

ally the Minister and representatives of the department hold hearings in the areas under study. Under this program, five consolidations have been worked out in various parts of the province. In most instances portions of rural municipalities and districts as well as whole units have been joined to make an enlarged municipality. Also, units that have been well off have been joined with poorer units. Equalization, however, has not been the sole motive. Pooling of equipment and reduced administrative expenses have been looked upon as the principal bases of improvement.

It is still too early to evaluate this program objectively, but early resistance of local officials is reported to have been overcome. Road equipment, for example, is being used equally throughout the consolidated municipalities, thereby improving performance in the poorer areas.

The responsible officials of Alberta and their administrative assistants are quite alive to the need for practical experiment in governmental economy, but they desire also to bring to the people as many services as possible. The parliamentary system appears to have placed at their disposal an effective device that is missing in the American states. They have been able to achieve directness in approaching their problem without challenging local self-government.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—The writer wishes to express his indebtedness to Mr. A. Soutter, Deputy Minister, and Mr. C. G. MacGregor, Accountant, of the Department of Municipal Affairs, for information regarding rural government in Alberta.

RENT CONTROL IN 1943

(Continued from page 20)

erally similar to that for housing with a few exceptions. The two principal differences are that the hotel regulation: (1) establishes separate maximum rents for different terms of occupancy (daily, weekly, or monthly) and for different numbers of occupants of a particular room; and (2) utilizes a thirty-day period ending on the freeze date rather than a single date as the basis for freezing rents.

A sharp impetus was given to the expansion of the rent control program by instructions issued to the OPA by the President on October 3, 1942, immediately after he signed the Cost of Living Stabilization Bill. Pursuant to these instructions, the OPA designated the remaining sections of the country as defense-rental areas. The sixty-day statutory period before rent control could be made effective in these defense-rental areas ended on December 5, 1942, and, accordingly, the OPA is now in a position to extend rent control immediately to any additional sections of the country whenever necessary.

Rent regulations already issued by the OPA cover areas housing about seventy-five million persons. Of the 398 defense-rental areas designated prior to the over-all designation of October 5, only forty-five remain in which federal rent control has not been made effective. The OPA recently announced that as rapidly as the situation warrants, and as it becomes administratively feasible, rent control will continue to be extended to additional areas in the country.

On the Local Front

Problems of prostitution are often rooted in local situations; control can best be accomplished with intelligent, concerted activity on the local level.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

COMMUNITY problems in the program of repression of prostitution constitute a challenge to municipal officials in each locality. In the total war effort vast mobilization of troops and concentration of industrial power have brought attendant changes to our cities and towns. These changes have made the control of venereal diseases a more vital necessity than ever before. When any disease attacks, the wise community cannot be satisfied merely to find and treat cases. Sources must be found, causes eradicated. The attack on venereal infection, similarly, must get down to fundamentals.

Prostitution, in any community, is a story of morale as well as of disease. It involves a lonely man, the commercially exploited woman and girl. It includes the deep human need for normal personal and community contacts, for adequate recreation. Prostitution itself is often only a sequel to poverty and lack of economic opportunity.

In July 1941 Congress passed the May Act, which makes it a federal offense to engage in prostitution activities in areas which may be so designated by the Secretary of War or of the Navy. To date it has been invoked only twice—at Camp Forest, Tennessee, and at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The federal government feels that invocation of the May Act is a strong repressive weapon, but one which should be used only where local situations for any reason may grow beyond the point where local law enforcement officers can

act effectively. Wherever possible, emphasis is placed on community control of prostitution and venereal disease.

Dothan, Alabama, might be cited as an example among those towns where large troop concentrations in adjacent areas have brought necessity for changed enforcement procedures. This town, in order to deal effectively with wartime conditions, recently invoked what it has called the "little May Act." This ordinance covers all points found objectionable to the military authorities, but it is a local move, authorized by Dothan municipal officials and enforced by the town's police department. It is direct assumption of civic responsibility in checking the spread of prostitution and venereal infection.

It is the function of the health officer to diagnose and treat syphilis and gonorrhea. Only by a combination of civic activity and effective law enforcement, however, can the number of prostitutes who spread these diseases be reduced. The Social Protection Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services has at present nearly forty field representatives in twelve regions of the United States and its territories. These workers are coöperating closely with local and state officials, with the Army, the Navy, and the United States Public Health Service in dealing with the disease hazard of prostitution.

Together, these agencies have worked effectively to close houses of prostitution in approximately 350 communi-

ties throughout the nation. With the assistance of the Section many of our cities have instituted definite programs for the repression of prostitution. And these programs are working.

Municipal leaders will recognize the necessity for community enterprise in attacking the prostitution problem. Its foundations are traditionally laid in the life of cities and towns. Re-education is, in many instances, the initial focus in community prostitution repression. Critics of repression—some of them honestly misinformed and others whose financial interests were concerned—have had dire prophecies to make with regard to such a program of control. Some cities have advanced the theory that segregation with medical inspection was the best method. But that is a policy that has been proved not only impractical but dangerous, fostering the spread of disease.

Segregation No Help

Segregation increases the number of possible contacts, with a corresponding increase in the probabilities of infection. Medical inspection is often superficial. Health authorities indicate without exception that there is no possible medical inspection plan which can render the prostitute actually non-infectious. The segregated district has not tended to lower the venereal disease rate, but has generally increased it.

Adverse prophecies have now been disproved by experience. Community bans on houses of prostitution have not resulted in any increase in rape cases. Repression has not caused crime waves. Instead, the closing of prostitution districts has often resulted in a corresponding improvement in local crime conditions, since these areas have served in many communities as criminal resorts or hideouts. In some areas the repression program has undermined the force of local political corruption.

Federal Social Protection activities

have been pledged the full support of both the National Sheriffs' Association and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. These organizations are composed of practical, hard-hitting members of the law enforcement profession. They have denounced tolerated prostitution as a definite disease hazard, and have called on local law enforcement officers to aid in its repression. This provides an opportunity for placing the power and influence of municipal leaders directly behind the efforts of the police chiefs and sheriffs. In this way the work of law enforcement can be coordinated with that of interested civic agents and organizations.

Early in 1942 outstanding police officials and sheriffs from all sections of the country were invited by the Director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services to serve on a National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection. This committee brought to the Federal Social Protection program the practical experience of law enforcement officials in counties, cities, and towns from coast to coast. In a recent report to the Director, this special committee made a survey of progress on the social protection front, and suggested techniques for dealing with different phases of the prostitution problem.

As a specific instance of constructive civic activity, **San Jose, California**, has organized a Citizens' Committee for Law Enforcement. This is a non-partisan group representing the city proper and other sections of Santa Clara County. This organization will function primarily as a Social Protection Committee, as do similar organizations in many other communities in all sections of the country.

Rehabilitation of the prostitute on a social and economic basis holds an important place in the Social Protection program. The basis for the entire cor-

rectional approach is not only to render these women non-infectious, but also to help them toward a more constructive way of life.

It is a fallacy to assume that all girls arrested for engaging in prostitution are hardened and embittered women of criminal tendencies. Records show that frequently these girls are under twenty-one years of age. Sometimes they are as young as thirteen or fourteen. Often they are the products of broken homes, poor economic environments. Many of them have received little education and no vocational training. Even among the more hardened types of women, the number of psychological prostitutes, those who actually prefer this way of life, is relatively small.

Municipal rehabilitation activity can give attention to providing means for directing girls in the younger age groups into constructive effort. Institutions for the care of juvenile delinquents may be used to provide proper medical treatment for adolescent girls, followed by vocational training. Later, community placement facilities may be made available for industrial employment. Adequate supervision for a period after the girl is discharged will assist her to make a successful transition from institutional life to community living.

Municipal officials will be the first to agree that detention facilities afforded by many city jails are totally inadequate to meet the demands of the repression program. Frequently these jails are already so overcrowded that they cannot be used at all for the purpose. In some critical areas federal funds, as approved under the Lanham Act, are being used to operate detention hospitals in abandoned CCC camps and other available buildings. Unless the detention problem can be promptly solved, however, thousands of diseased women may have to be turned loose

upon our towns and cities.

Prostitution repression is a broad community enterprise, involving total community service to all citizens. Municipal officials have a definite place in the program. So do local law enforcement officers, civic and professional clubs, city medical authorities, the citizens themselves. It involves fundamental community interest in providing the best possible living conditions for men and women, boys and girls, industrial workers, members of the armed forces. It includes intelligent planning designed to cope with prostitution as it has already developed locally.

Local Responsibility

There is a national need for action in the repression of prostitution and the control of venereal disease. Yet emphasis has been rightly placed upon local responsibility in the development of the program. The families, the soldiers, sailors, and industrial workers who must be protected need local protection.

The results of ineffectual municipal control will extend far beyond the limits of the individual community. It is the old story of the chain which is no stronger than its weakest link. One typhoid-infected well at a cross-country bus stop in the middle west recently spread typhoid from California to New England. Just so one defense center or transient stop for our industrial and military forces can spread syphilis and gonorrhea across the nation.

The new services and facilities of the federal government which are concerned with this problem are depending on the coöperation of municipal authorities, town councils, welfare directors, members of the police forces, civic organizations. It is the public responsibility of every community and each citizen of a community to see that this job which must be done is done.

Researcher's Digest: January

Guide to Alabama agencies and Alabama finance; libraries and government; justice of the peace courts; Flint community-wide recreational program.

TRYING to find your way around Alabama state government? The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** has provided an invaluable Baedeker in the form of an attractively and encyclopaedically gotten up *Handbook of Alabama State Agencies*. Every agency is annotated with information on its legal basis, date of creation, authorization, organization, method of financing, duties and status, complete with citations for everything. You can even wander over to such interesting repositories of governmental authority as the Board for Distribution and Delivery of Dead Bodies (indexed under "schools" and rightfully so, too).

The same bureau has issued another small book which explains, under the title of *Alabama's State Dollar*, how a seventeen-million-dollar minus turned into a twenty-five-million-dollar plus in the course of a single decade. Chief purpose of Joseph M. Ray's work is to explore the state's fiscal past and fiscal future in order to throw intelligent light on present demands that the large surplus be dissipated this way and that. This he does also by discussing what he calls "the disbursement pattern," and by exploring the sources of state money.

Perhaps irrelevant to pure governmental research, but not irrelevant to the amenities of life, are the attractive covers which the bureau puts on its works. The agencies handbook is done in beige and wine, with a sprinkling of agency names in pale red in the background; the fiscal volume is a bluish gray and dubonnet, with darker blue gray dollar signs in the background. They are as attractive as a woman's

ensemble, and almost as helpful to the subject.

Books

Libraries come in for their share of the researcher's attention in two recent publications. The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** has issued another one of its exhaustive studies on governmental coöperation, *Integration of Public Library Services in the Los Angeles Area*. Ronald M. Ketcham has explored every governmental aspect of library organization in all the communities in that extensive metropolitan area, with special attention to contractual and more informal arrangements for dovetailing of library facilities. He found considerable coöperation, but far less than the liberal legal background will permit and he issues a solemn warning that unless libraries coöperate voluntarily they may find themselves forced to do so by postwar retrenchments in local government.

The Library in the Present World Crisis was the theme of the section on public library administration at the **University of Washington's Seventh Annual Institute of Government** last summer—proceedings of which are published now under that title. Emphasis of the talks was on the libraries' contribution to the war effort in connection with propaganda, by supplying war information, and in supplying reading matter and library facilities at military encampments.

Courts

The United States Supreme Court has condemned, in principle, the justice of

the peace court as it is set up in most counties of Indiana; newspaper editors have written "scathing" editorials; and there has been a good deal of piecemeal legislation and literary sound and fury on the subject. Now the **Bureau of Government Research of Indiana University** has undertaken to air the subject once and for all in a monograph on *Justice of the Peace Courts in Indiana* by Gail M. Morris. Purpose of the pamphlet is to allow the reader to understand and evaluate this peculiar judicial institution. Hence the author explains its history, statutory powers, activities, and abuses.

Children

An Experiment in Community Improvement is what the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan** calls the elaborate system whereby a beneficent foundation has knit together public and private recreational and health activities in Flint, Michigan, into a comprehensive and useful whole. The entire program includes summer and winter recreational programs for children and adults, guidance and job placement, children's health services, a boys' camp, visiting teacher service—a whole network of good works for those in need of it in Flint. Importance of the program, say the authors of the bureau's pamphlet, is that it developed gradually, in response to definite city needs; its organization is well knit and well coordinated; it uses existing facilities in the community, both material and organizational; and finally, it illustrates the possibility of cooperation between private and public agencies, and a

mingling of private and public funds as well.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Courts

Justice of the Peace Courts in Indiana. By Gail M. Morris. Bloomington, Department of Government, Bureau of Governmental Research, Indiana University, 1942. 38 pp.

Finance

Alabama's State Dollar. By Joseph M. Ray. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1942. 135 pp.

Libraries

Integration of Public Library Services in the Los Angeles Area. By Ronald M. Ketcham. Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles, 1942. 185 pp.

The Library in the Present World Crisis. Seattle, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, 1942. 33 pp.

Public Welfare

An Experiment in Community Improvement. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1942. 29 pp.

State Government

A Handbook of Alabama State Agencies. University, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1942. 203 pp.

Contributors in Review

A RESEARCH grant from the University of California at Los Angeles to study the effect of war on municipalities gave **Winston W. Crouch** (*Alberta Tries Consolidation*) an opportunity to visit Alberta, Canada, this past summer where he observed at first hand the results of rural consolidations and the work of the province's Department of Municipal Affairs. Professor Crouch is author of *State Aid to Local Government in California*, and co-author, with V. O. Key, Jr., of the *Initiative and Referendum in California*. He teaches political science at the University of California (Los Angeles).

THE three authors of *Fighting Front on Main Street* have several things in common. All are "native" New Yorkers, all graduated from Vassar College in 1942, and all have spent at least some of their summer vacations during college years working at children's camps. **Mary Draper**, who made economics and sociology her major field of study, spent one summer with the Massachusetts State Department of Correction where she reported on case histories of prison inmates and interviewed their families. **Juliet Fleischl** is the political scientist of the trio, having made that subject her major and acted as the college's political conference chairman. She was a member of Vassar's varsity debating team and managing editor of the *Vassar Miscellany News*. **Barbara Gair** made drama and art her chief interest in college but found time to act as editor-in-chief of *Miscellany News*.

TRAINED in the tradition of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, after graduation from the University of Michigan," says **Loren Miller** (*Kansas City Goes A-Polling*), "I've browsed around in a number of places. Perhaps the best that can be said is that they've been willing to have me back in two places. From the Detroit Bureau to Erie, Pennsylvania, then back to Detroit; then Newark with the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York with Dun and Bradstreet, Chicago with the Municipal Finance Officers Association, and back to Newark. Which brings me to where I am now, at the Kansas City (Missouri) Civic Research Institute, where I have been director since June 1940—and finding plenty to do."

ANOTHER graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles is a contributor to this month's REVIEW—**James Simsarian** (*Rent Control in 1943*). Mr. Simsarian—Gilder Fellow at Columbia University 1937-38—is a member of the bar in the District of Columbia. He was formerly attorney for the United States Housing Authority and now acts in the same capacity for the Office of Price Administration. He is the author of numerous articles which have appeared in the *Political Science Quarterly*, the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of International Law*, and various law reviews.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Federal Control of Municipal Wages Stirs Controversy

***WLB keeps out
of labor disputes***

ALTHOUGH the requirements of federal approval of state and municipal wage and salary changes, as originally announced in October, were somewhat eased by regulations of the War Labor Board and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in November, the question of federal jurisdiction over state and municipal employees has continued to be discussed and disputed. On December 15 the War Labor Board announced that it would not interfere in state or municipal labor disputes.

Under authority of the emergency price control legislation of October 2, and of Executive Order No. 9250 of October 3, Economic Stabilization Director Byrnes on October 27 issued regulations "applicable to any salary or wages paid by the United States, any state, territory, or possession, or political subdivision thereof, the District of Columbia, or any agency or instrumentality of any one or more of the foregoing except where the amount of such salary or wages is fixed by statute." The WLB was given jurisdiction over all wages and salaries up to \$5,000 annually except those of supervisory or professional employees not represented by recognized unions; such latter employees were placed under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Certain types of increases were exempt from the requirement of approval, including pay increases due to promotions or reclassi-

fications, incentive plans, and established systems of increases on merit or length of service, etc.

On November 12 these two agencies announced that wages and salaries of state and municipal employees could be adjusted locally without the agencies' approval; certification to the WLB, or the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, by the local authority that the adjustments are necessary to correct maladjustments, inequalities, or gross inequities would be sufficient. The certificates were directed to be filed promptly with the Joint Committee on Salaries and Wages, Labor Department Building, Washington, D. C.

The chief controversy has been aroused by the attempts of employee unions to bring the WLB into disputes over wage increases or other conditions, as in the case of Newark, New Jersey, and the New York City Board of Transportation.¹

The National Civil Service Reform League, at its semi-annual meeting in New York, November 20, adopted a sweeping resolution challenging "the right of the War Labor Board to take jurisdiction over state and local governments and their employees."

On December 8, the day preceding the hearing in Washington before the WLB, involving its jurisdiction in the Newark and New York cases and also in an Omaha case, Mayor LaGuardia, as president of the United States Conference of Mayors, issued a statement signed by himself and seventy-eight other mayors denying that the WLB has jurisdiction over disputes of cities with their employees. The signers announced that they would not submit such controversies to the WLB.

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers filed a brief with the

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1942, p. 628.

WLB contending that Congress did not intend to interfere with the jurisdiction of local governments in such disputes.

The WLB in its unanimous decision of December 15 stated that it did not have power "to issue any directive order or regulation in these disputes governing the conduct of the state or municipal agencies involved." A supplementary statement by W. L. Morse, a public member, urged that the WLB should make its services available in disputes if desired by all the parties.

OPA and Utility Rate Increases

The Office of Price Administration, which has been designated the agency to receive notice of and to participate in proceedings involving any general rate increase proposed by a public utility, under the emergency price control act, has issued regulations requiring notice to it on or before the time that any general rate increase is sought to be authorized by any regulatory agency, and in any event not less than thirty days before such increase could go into effect. The notice is to be accompanied by specific data bearing on the necessity for and the effect of the increase. The OPA public utilities division has already appeared in various rate increase cases.

Congress Investigates Federal Personnel Procedures

The House of Representatives has authorized its Committee on Civil Service to conduct a current investigation of civilian employment policies and procedures in federal departments and agencies, including government-owned corporations. The authorizing resolution, which was introduced by Chairman Ramspeck of the committee, is said to have resulted from com-

plaints that some agencies and departments are overloaded with employees and that unnecessary transfers and upgrading of employees have taken place.

Montana Governor Asks State Reorganization

A report of Governor Sam C. Ford to the legislature of Montana, submitted in December, recommends broad changes in the structural organization of the state's government and in its finance administration, the establishment of a personnel administration, and numerous minor items of corrective legislation in relation to the individual state agencies.

In conformity with an act passed by the 1941 legislature the Governor had appointed an advisory committee and employed Griffenhagen and Associates to make a study of Montana state government and submit recommendations to the committee for its consideration. Fifty-five reports covering individual state agencies, four reports dealing with state business procedures, and one report dealing with general state reorganization, were prepared.

The act gave the Governor broad powers to put into effect recommendations not requiring changes in the statutes. Some of these recommendations were minor in character and others were quite sweeping, involving complete internal reorganization of such agencies as the State Highway Commission and the State Insane Asylum.

The Governor has recommended that: (1) Statutory recognition be given to an executive council which he has created by executive order. (2) The state administrative service be reorganized on a departmental basis, recognizing eighteen departments. With

the exception of about fifteen state agencies and the various occupational standards boards, all of the existing 136 state agencies will be consolidated into these departments. (3) The head of each department in the administrative service be placed by law under the supervision of the Governor in accordance with the responsibility vested in the Governor by the constitution. (4) So far as possible and feasible all administrative responsibility for the conduct of the work of each state agency be vested in a single administrative officer as the head of such agency.

The plan recommended for adoption at the 1943 legislature is one that can be put into effect without constitutional amendments. In addition to the plans submitted for immediate action, the Governor has submitted a simpler model plan that will require several constitutional amendments, such as the abolition of the State Board of Examiners, made up of ex-officio officers, and the State Board of Equalization, and substituting a finance board to serve the Department of Revenue and the Department of Finance.

FRED BENNION, *Secretary*
Governor's Committee on Reorganization
and Economy of Montana

States Consider Emergency Suspensions

Representatives of the states, in cooperation with a number of federal officials, have framed an "Executive Statutory Suspension Act," to be presented to all state legislatures meeting in 1943. The purpose is to give the governors of the states the necessary authority to suspend laws during the war emergency, especially at times when legislatures are not in session.

Laws that are said to hamper the war effort include, among others, those which interfere with interstate trans-

portation, production of explosives, formation of state military guards, control of property belonging to aliens, setting up of reserves for postwar developments, financing of war production, daytime care of children, practice of physicians, dentists, a number of aspects of public welfare services, housing, repression of prostitution, weights and measures, and the free movement of persons.

New York State already has given such power to the governor and the War Council, and Massachusetts has conferred such authority on the governor alone. The machinery of the Council of State Governments is being utilized to acquaint state officials and legislators with the problems involved. A few weeks ago governors, attorney-generals, and legislators of the mid-western states met at Chicago and studied and discussed the proposed statutory suspension act, together with specific bills relative to so-called hampering laws. A similar meeting was held in New York City on November 21 for the benefit of the northeastern states; others were scheduled for Olympia, Washington, Los Angeles, California, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

The proposed bill provides that, upon request from the proper federal official, accompanied by a statement from the Attorney-General of the United States that a particular statute is interfering with the war effort, the governor, if he has found and proclaimed after investigation or hearing that such conflict exists, with the approval of the state attorney-general, may by order suspend or modify the enforcement of such statute.

A definite period during which the order is effective is provided for, and the governor would be required to report to the legislature any action taken under the act.

BURT P. GARNETT

Direct Legislation Results Equally Divided

More than 120 constitutional amendments, referred and initiated measures were voted on at the November election in thirty-two states, according to a survey by the Council of State Governments. Approximately one-half the proposals submitted received the approval of the voters.

Old age pensions of a forty-dollar-a-month minimum for all needy aged were defeated in Washington and Idaho; in Missouri a similar measure was crossed off the ballot before election. The Washington measure was combined with a proposal to extend free medical and dental care to residents on relief. Idaho electors favored the forty-dollar pensions almost two to one, but the affirmative vote did not represent a majority of the votes cast for governor, necessary for initiative approval.

In two other states measures which received majority approval failed because of the same legal requirement. These were the Illinois proposal to remove the two-cent sales tax on food, and the Oklahoma amendment to permit women to hold high state offices.

New tax proposals in Oregon, Washington, and Utah were rejected. Oregon defeated a cigarette levy, Washington an income tax, and Utah a graduated tax on chain stores.

Most of the proposals to remove taxes were defeated also. A Florida proposal to broaden the tax exemption of religious and charitable institutions failed, along with Illinois' measure (above) and the California effort to repeal its state income tax.

Tax exemptions succeeding were those in Nevada, where exemption of stocks, bonds, and similar investments was approved, along with prohibition of an inheritance tax levy; and in Louisiana, where voters authorized the

legislature to extend the \$2,000 homestead exemption provision to local taxes, and to grant tax exemption for twenty-five years on power lines of electric coöperatives.

Among other tax proposals adopted were those earmarking revenues from gasoline taxes exclusively for road building, in West Virginia, Iowa, and Oregon. As noted in this REVIEW for last month, a similar measure approved in Florida allocates two cents per gallon for the next fifty years to finance county roads. Arizona voters approved state-local sharing of the state excise tax.

Legislative pay increases, proposed in six states, were approved in three—Maryland, Missouri, and Oregon; but only a few of the other propositions relating to state governing bodies and officials were approved.

California, New Mexico, and Utah defeated measures for higher pay, while South Dakota refused to raise salaries of the governor and supreme court judges from \$3,000 to \$6,000 a year.

California voters also declined to substitute annual legislative sessions—and annual budgets—for the present biennial system, and New Mexico voters defeated a proposal to split regular legislative sessions into two terms divided by a thirty-day recess.

Of the other legislative measures, New Hampshire's amendment cutting the size of the House of Representatives from 443 to 375 or 400 was approved. Colorado's amendment limiting legislative sessions to 100 days and abolishing the practice of introducing bills by title only is in doubt, requiring official canvass. New Mexico turned down reapportionment of its legislature, while Louisiana adopted such a measure. As noted last month, Missouri approved and Michigan disapproved the calling of constitutional conventions.

Among miscellaneous measures approved by voters were: prohibiting of secondary boycotts by labor unions, California; prohibiting the giving of birth control information by physicians, Massachusetts; permission for jury service by women, Vermont; permission for absentee voting for state and local officers, New Hampshire; facilitation of local option liquor, Arkansas.

Defeated proposals included prohibition of serving liquor with restaurant meals in North Dakota; and provision for county home rule in Nebraska.

Civil Service Broadcasts in New York

The New York State Department of Civil Service is conducting weekly broadcasts over the New York City municipal radio station, WNYC, on Mondays at 6:15 P.M. The series, which began October 12, is known as Civil Service Newscasts, and features talks and interviews on civil service matters in which state officials participate. They also include sketches dealing with special problems affecting civil service applicants, candidates, eligibles, appointees, and employees, and current news topics such as new examinations and new eligible lists.

Another recent activity of the department has been the preparation of a classification manual, which traces the processes from the decision of a city or other governmental agency to adopt a classification plan, through the various steps of working it out, to its actual adoption. Copies are obtainable from the New York State Conference of Mayors, Albany, New York.

Minnesota Simplifies Home Rule Charter Changes

For the third successive time, and for the fifth time since the adoption of the home rule section of the state

constitution,¹ Minnesota voters at the recent November election were asked to modify the existing stringent requirement for publication of home rule charter amendments.

This time the supporters of the proposal, always a substantial and an ever-increasing majority, overcame the very decided handicap imposed by the amending clause of the constitution, which requires a majority of all the electors voting *at the election* for the adoption of amendments. The vote on the amendment was 459,868 to 144,842; it was favored by about 56 per cent of those voting at the election.

The amendment,² which was approved unanimously by the state legislature, reduces from three to one the number of newspapers of general circulation in which proposed home rule charter changes must be published, and from daily or weekly insertions in such newspapers over a period of thirty days to one weekly insertion for four successive weeks. Only ten of the seventy-six home rule charter cities in Minnesota could comply with the old provision requiring publication in three newspapers without going outside their municipal jurisdictions and thus court- ing charges of unconstitutionality. Thirty home rule charter cities have only two newspapers, thirty-four have only one, and two have none at all.

The expense of complying with the former constitutional provision also was considerable. If three weekly newspapers were available and used, a minimum of fifteen insertions was necessary, and if one of the newspapers used published a daily and a Sunday paper, thirty insertions were required. Only four of the twenty-four cities having dailies could avoid the expense of daily insertion by using weeklies exclusively. These obstacles to charter

¹Art. IV, Sec. 36.

²Ch. 555, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

amendment discouraged attempts to effect needed revisions, and encouraged efforts to secure legislative relief through special legislation in the guise of general laws.

Leadership in the campaign to secure adoption of the amendment was taken by the League of Minnesota Municipalities. City, village, and school officials coöperated by the widespread circulation of literature and by the adoption of resolutions favorable to the proposal. The Minnesota Editorial Association gave its endorsement.

Perhaps the most important single step taken to secure the required majority was the passage by the 1941 legislature of a League-sponsored amendment to the general law pertaining to the preparation of constitutional amendment ballots³ directing that "at the head of the ballot or in some other prominent place on the ballot, there shall be conspicuously printed a notice stating in substance that if a voter fails to vote on a constitutional amendment he votes in effect in the negative."

This act provided further that constitutional amendment ballot labels for voting machines should be printed on material tinted pink and should carry the same warning to the voters of the negative effect of a failure to vote on the amendment. A very small vote on a similar amendment in 1940 in St. Paul and Duluth, where voting machines were used, was largely responsible for the defeat of that effort. Finally, the legislature, in submitting the amendment to the voters directed that the proposition on the ballot should be stated as an amendment "to simplify, and reduce the expense of publishing amendments to home rule charters of cities and villages"—a statement ob-

viously emphasizing the merits of the proposal.

Another amendment was approved at the same election by a vote (415,012 "yes" and 190,563 "no") that was less than one per cent above the required majority of those voting at the election. This amendment⁴ reduces from 3 per cent to 2 per cent the minimum interest rate at which the State Board of Investment may make loans to local government units in Minnesota from the \$120,000,000 in state trust funds which the board is charged with investing, and reduces from five years to one year the minimum period for such loans. It was sponsored by the Investment Board, recommended by the Legislative Interim Committee on Education, and was passed unanimously by the state legislature. Publicity favorable to the proposal was provided by the League of Minnesota Municipalities in conjunction with the campaign for the home rule charter amendment.

LLOYD M. SHORT

University of Minnesota

Council-Manager Plan News

Adoptions of the manager plan in the November elections brought the total number of manager municipalities in this country to 542, in forty states, according to the International City Managers' Association. With one Puerto Rican, eighteen Canadian, and five Irish cities under the manager plan the grand total is 566.

Besides Lowell, Massachusetts, Laramie, Wyoming, St. Louis, Michigan, and Mountain Brook, Alabama, (which adopted the plan by ordinance in October), noted in last month's issue, **Coquerville, Oregon**, approved the plan by a vote of 368 to 240. Laramie and Mountain Brook are the first municipal-

³Ch. 72, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

⁴Ch. 171, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

ities in their respective states to adopt the plan.

In **Plainfield, New Jersey**, there is a movement for the old commission plan. The *Plainfield Courier-News* states that the movement is not to be taken too seriously; that commission government has failed in various cities of New Jersey and elsewhere; and that if any change is to be made the city manager plan should be given preference.

The **Knox County, Tennessee**, League of Women Voters is starting a study of the manager plan for that county, containing the city of Knoxville, which already has a city manager.

Detroit Institutes War Service Examinations and Appointments

In order to meet municipal manpower needs without abandoning merit system principles, the Civil Service Commission of Detroit, Michigan, has provided for "war service" examinations and appointments to civil service positions. The appointments will last until six months after the war in approximately 130 classes of positions; temporary war service appointments may be made in all classes, however. Under the program, qualification requirements were lowered in one or more respects from previous standards; for example, less training and experience now are required of applicants for many positions. Rights and privileges of probationary employees are given war service appointees, but they are not given status in the regular classified service.

According to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, Detroit became the first major city to proceed on such a broad basis.

Many other cities, the Assembly said, have adopted less comprehensive measures in efforts to ease their municipal employment situation.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Laramie Becomes First Wyoming Manager City

Chamber of Commerce and newspaper lend support

WHEN Laramie's new council-manager plan went into effect on January 1, this city of 11,000—railroad and livestockmen's trading center, home of the state university—became the first municipality in Wyoming to avail itself of this modern governmental system.

It climaxes many years of work and persistent campaigning on the part of a number of individuals and *The Republican-Boomerang*, the city's daily newspaper. The campaign really made great strides when the Laramie Chamber of Commerce took up the cudgels, assisted by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

One of the first cities chartered by the old territorial government before Wyoming became a state, Laramie has had much to complain about almost from the beginning. Characterized by observers as the "weak mayor and council plan" it could hardly be called that in recent years. As the community grew and the ancient charter became inadequate, instead of availing itself of other forms of government offered by state statute, the city from time to time asked the legislature to make special provisions for its benefit.

At the behest of Laramie representatives, the legislature in 1890 passed a law providing for cities of the second class. From about 1900 on, Laramie operated under that law, modified about every decade to suit changing

conditions, and under the old charter.

It is out of the question to outline the legal difficulties encountered during those forty odd years of loosely defined complicated government.

Old Plan Illegal

In August 1940 a suit was filed on behalf of William May, a city councilman, asking a declaratory judgment as to the legality of the governmental setup. It is interesting that the Supreme Court of the state did not act upon that suit until the last week in November 1942, some three weeks after Laramie citizens had voted to avail themselves of the council-manager plan. The tribunal, reversing a district court decision, held that the second class form of government, under which Laramie had operated partially for nearly half a century, was unconstitutional and had been since its inception.

The court obligingly ruled, however, that though the form of government had been illegal, the city officials during that time had acted lawfully and could not be attacked in court now. "We need not question," the court said, "that the present officials of the city, though they may have been elected or appointed irregularly, are *de facto* officials, and may hold their positions until their successors have been duly appointed, or that their past transactions and acts are legal and cannot now be attacked."

In 1938 *The Republican-Boomerang* ran a series of articles pointing out the inadequacies of Laramie's form of government, augmented by an editorial campaign. The matter was brought to the attention of the Lions Club which conducted a series of round-table discussions. This resulted in the naming of a committee to study the various forms of government available to Laramie and to make recommendations.

A few months later the Chamber of Commerce president, incidentally a member of the luncheon club, named the majority of the Lions Club committee members to a Chamber committee, with instructions to report back to a public meeting.

Six months later, after an intensive study, the committee recommended the adoption of the council-manager form of government—with a number of changes in the state enabling law to make it conform to Laramie's needs. The Junior Chamber joined the senior organization in supporting the proposal of the study committee. Petitions were circulated providing for submission of the question at the general election of November 3, 1942.

Manager Plan Wins

From there on the campaign was limited generally to personal contact work by interested citizens and a vigorous editorial campaign on the part of *The Republican-Boomerang*. Day before the election the Chamber of Commerce published an advertisement urging adoption of the plan.

The citizens who voted on the proposition approved it by a majority of two to one. However, it was found that it had not carried by a majority of all the citizens who voted in the city. Although this has caused sponsors some worry about the legality of the election, members of the Laramie bar have pledged coöperation and plans have gone ahead for induction of manager government.

Since the election the original study committee, augmented by others, has formed a citizens better government committee, gradually adding to the membership until about one hundred interested voters are affiliated with the group to do all possible to elect the best available councilmen and see that the manager form works.

Meanwhile, the local bar has offered to draw up the needed bill providing for necessary changes in the enabling act. A peculiar provision of the state law pertaining to council-manager government calls for election of councilmen by an indirect method. Electors who are chosen at ward meetings, similar to the old town hall meetings, meet and name the councilmen, three from each ward. Since Laramie has three wards, there will be fifteen electors chosen to elect nine councilmen.

Following the recommendation of the Chamber of Commerce study committee, however, the legislature will be asked to amend the law so that five councilmen are elected at large at municipal elections to be held in the spring instead of at the time of regular national and state elections in the fall.

Plan Council Campaign

As this is being written the citizens committee is busy in each ward. Hoping to beat the old-time politicians, who have largely controlled most municipal elections in the past, committee members have invited desired citizens in each ward to quiet meetings where candidates for electors have been chosen. They hope by personal contacts with neighbors and friends throughout the wards to get these candidates elected at the "town hall" ward meetings.

Sponsors of the citizens committee hope to build out of it a permanent organization to keep an eye on the council-manager form of government, and keep it out of machine politics.

These sponsors have been aware of the risk they have taken in launching the city on a strange sea of uncertainties in wartime. But faced with a \$50,000 deficit, chiefly because of an inefficient form of government, facing a court decision invalidating the old

form of government, and after a record of inefficiency, paralyzing deadlocks between mayor and council, and factions within the council, it was decided that public opinion was ripe to support a change. It was.

It will be difficult to erase old quarrels and factions from the new government. Problems are as troublesome as ever. Added to a constitutional provision which apparently prohibits the employment of a non-Wyoming resident as city manager is the problem of acquiring any kind of experienced trained personnel because of the general manpower shortage.

The new council will have its headaches. But with a citizens' committee, interested in better, honest government behind it, it should be able to hurdle the obstacles.

E. H. LINFORD, *Editor*
Laramie Republican-Boomerang

Lowell Faces Stiff Problems at First Plan E Election

More than at any other time in the political history of this city the voters of Lowell are going to need real assistance in making sharp distinctions among candidates at next fall's municipal election, the first to be held under the Plan E (council-manager-P.R.) charter.

If that assistance is not forthcoming at the proper time, it is a foregone conclusion that the fight for Plan E, which was won at the election on November 5, will prove to have been worse than an empty victory.

It is predictable that there will be candidates by the carload. Many will run as lone wolves attracted by the glitter of the nine council jobs which may each pay up to \$4,000 a year. Many another will run under the sponsorship of the several little political machines which have had a stranglehold on Lowell politics for years because of

the ease by which the ward and precinct elections can be controlled.

The approach which the professional politicians will take is visible even at this distance from the election. It consists of the same tactics by which they tried to defeat the adoption of the charter at last fall's election: straight appeals to fear and prejudice; for instance, they attempted to arouse the city workers by telling them that the adoption of the charter would mean the elimination of jobs and the cutting of pay.

Same Political Game

They will play this same snide tune with variations as they present their candidates next fall. The variations are simple but appealing: a promise of more jobs and more pay raises if their candidates are elected. Even now, they are flinging out their skirmish lines, the outlines of which are plainly defined as talk of the forthcoming 1943 city budget is heard at City Hall. Increases in pay for all city employees are urged, new jobs are being created and filled, and promotions made.

But the attempt to line up city employees, their families, and their friends as a solid bloc against the charter failed for the reason that many of them were completely disgusted with things as they are and have been for many years. After all, there was no arguing that all was right with Lowell in the face of the clear evidence that plenty was wrong, dramatically presented right in the middle of the Plan E campaign by way of the conviction of the Mayor and the City Purchasing Agent and his brother on charges of conspiracy in connection with city purchases and the sentencing of all three to a year in jail.

The clue to the methods by which the proponents of decent government here can win control in next fall's election

is therefore contained in the predictable strategies of the opposition. To these can be added further clues by way of the campaign which won the adoption of the charter last November.

Select Candidates Carefully

All clues point to one summary word. It is "slate." To choose a slate will necessitate the formation of an entirely new nonpartisan committee. It is impossible at this early date to lay down a set of rigid rules by which such a committee should operate. But it is clearly seen that, aside from the difficult problem of finding good men to run for office and convincing them that they should run, such a committee has another equally important duty. It is to search the qualifications of every other candidate for office and publicize the findings.

In this manner only will it be possible to assist the voter in maintaining clarity of vision in this all-important struggle to elect a proper council and school committee and choose a proper city manager.

Seen as a logical method at this time, would be the querying of every man and woman as they announce their candidacies. They should be asked to state not only their qualifications for office such as educational background and business experience, but, in the case of council candidates, what they believe the salary of a city councillor should be, whether the manager should be a local or out-of-town man and what his salary should be, whether if money can be saved by better management, it should be spent for improvement of city services rather than a reduction in tax rates.

These are important points, as we know from the amount of public interest in them during the campaign. A clear and bold stand on them by candidates will win public approval.

The importance of the salary question cannot be overstressed. It must be remembered that the charter permits the councillors to vote themselves a salary of \$4,000, and to set the manager's salary at a maximum of \$20,000 a year. Quite a jump in a city where councillors are paid \$440 a year at present and the mayor's salary is \$5,000 a year. The argument of opponents made quite an impression on traditional New England frugality, especially when they hinted we might be paying these prices for the councillors holding down the jobs right now.

Newspaper Helps

The *Sunday Telegram* has gone on record for placing candidates in the open on these points and others. The paper has also promised its readers that it will publish the backgrounds of all candidates for offices. It suggested that a salary of \$1,200 to \$1,500 should be adequate for a councillor and that \$8,000 to \$10,000 a year should be a reasonable starting salary for a city manager.

The paper, however, has been dogmatic in its stand for the employment of an out-of-town career man for manager, one who has been manager of a smaller city; dogmatic also in stating that any money saved should be applied to an improvement of Lowell's shattered services before the tax rate is dropped one penny; in fact raise it if necessary.

Thus, whether this job of sifting candidates is done by a committee or not, it will be done one way or another as a newspaper project, but not so well, nor so forcefully. If a nonpartisan committee takes on the job, and discards all those ancient and be-whiskered political precepts which the campaign for the charter proved to be outmoded, the job can be done with great success. This is the time to be

bold.

Another serious problem is foreseen at this time. It is that there will be great difficulty in finding candidates to run for the six very important school committee posts. The reason is financial. The council jobs pay money; the school committeemen serve without pay. But, since Lowell schools are notoriously substandard and have been for years and school committee posts have been sought as the springboard for a political career, this problem must be met and solved.

In order to assist in solving it, the *Telegram* is even now engaged in running a series of articles pointing to administrative and other defects in the school system with specific suggestions for their cure.

As one more assistance to the whole problem this newspaper will, at the proper time in the future, run articles explaining the technicalities of the P.R. voting system which will be used for the first time in the election of both the city council and the school committee.

FREDERICK W. MAGUIRE, *Editor*
Lowell Sunday Telegram

Houston Meets a Wartime Challenge

The question that every true American is asking himself today is, "How can I do my part to help win this war?" Every one can play a vital part at home in seeing that his own local government is prepared for this war emergency and the postwar problems to follow. Each American city that is improving its own government is making a real contribution to our national war effort.

On January 2 Houston, Texas, officially joined the roll of council-manager cities. On that day Otis Massey and his Council of eight civic-minded leaders

went to the City Hall "to give and not to get." What a boon for the burdened taxpayers who are insisting that their money be spent for winning this war instead of for costly mismanagement of city government. Houston voters are proud of their achievement.

Soon after war was declared the people of Houston realized that their city, operating under its antiquated form of government, would not be able to meet its wartime responsibilities. It was decided immediately that the first and most important war task was a complete change in the form of government because, in time of war, no community can afford "politics as usual." If democracy is worth fighting for on the battlefield, it is certainly worth working for on the home field.

The story of Houston's successful efforts to secure council-manager government, under direction of the Citizens Charter Committee, has already been told in this REVIEW.¹ At the recent election on November 3 the Charter Committee followed this notable victory by its successful campaign to elect a capable city council, which will select a city manager under the new charter and inaugurate the new form of government.

Informed Citizens Needed

Any city that wants or needs better government badly enough can do what Houston has done. It is doubtful that any city has a stronger political machine than has operated in Houston for years. To defeat a political machine the voters must first be informed as to the condition of affairs in their community. Organization and hard work will complete the job.

Too much expense cannot be placed

¹See "Houston Wins Manager Campaign," by Ben Kaplan, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1942, pp. 481-484.

on neighborhood or precinct work, both in winning a new charter and in selecting council members under it. The message must be carried directly to the homes. Preceding house-to-house work neighborhood meetings should be held where those in attendance will not only be informed, but will be given the opportunity to "sign up" for individual work—hostess for one or more meetings, block worker, speaker, clerical worker, election day worker. Many will agree to do more than one task. Election day is by far the most important day of any campaign. Each worker is asked to devote the entire day to his particular assignment. Some stay at their telephones, others take voters who are unable to go without assistance to the polls, some are on duty outside the polls giving out literature and answering questions, while others supervise the polls.

There is, of course, expense attached to any educational campaign, and that is exactly what any campaign for better government is. Houston men rendered an invaluable aid in raising money. There were no large contributions but citizens from all walks of life contributed as they were able.

Volunteers at Work

Between August 1 and November 3, almost two hundred thousand letters and postal cards were prepared and sent to the voters. Volunteers worked on both day and night shifts to accomplish this important piece of work. It could never have been completed if the Citizens Charter Committee had been forced to pay for it. Not only did Houston men steer the financial end of the campaign, but they gave unstintingly of their time and knowledge in an advisory capacity. They also spoke at public meetings and over the air.

This wartime work has developed for

Houston such unity of purpose and endeavor as this city has never witnessed. Citizens from all sections of the city, rich and poor, old and young, have worked side by side. Physicians, ministers, and church organizations have for the first time played an important role in a fight for better government. There has been a real exhibition of practical Christian citizenship. Those citizens who have long worked for better government are amply rewarded in the fact that at last politics is looked upon as the science of government and not something to be ashamed of. The nine new city officials are highly respected, successful business men who were drafted to serve their city. They have set the precedent for other Houston men of similar capabilities to serve their city.

Houston citizens fully realize that their responsibility for good government has just begun because no official can succeed without the coöperation of the people. Such coöperation may well mean that many a citizen will be called upon to render some service at a personal sacrifice.

The Citizens Charter Committee hopes to continue its work with future citizens—the high school and college students who worked so effectively in the campaign for the council-manager charter. One high school boy organized his own church into working units, spoke before groups in other churches, organized neighborhood meetings where he spoke. He also spoke most convincingly before the City Council. If such work had been done with and by the young people of this city twenty-five years ago, Houston would today have been better prepared to meet its wartime responsibilities.

ANNA K. CHASE

Houston Citizens Charter Committee

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Two Minnesota Counties Adopt Merit System

Referendums held in Ramsay and St. Louis Counties

THE merit system in Minnesota, which was given a big boost by the adoption of a state civil service act in 1939 and again by a statute of 1941 providing for compliance with federal requirements for personnel standards in welfare administration, was further extended by popular vote at the November 1942 election to employees of Ramsay County (St. Paul) and St. Louis County (Duluth), the state's second and third most populous counties.

The Ramsay County act,¹ which was approved by the overwhelming majority of 37,645 to 8,014, provides for a Civil Service Commission of three members to be appointed by the Board of County Commissioners for six-year, overlapping terms. The county board is authorized to contract with the City Council of St. Paul for the services of the Civil Service Bureau of that city, but if no such contract is made a civil service administrator is to be appointed by the Civil Service Commission, with the approval of the county board, after open competitive examination.

Civil service rules, made by the county commission with the assistance of the administrator, are subject to approval by the county board. The act prescribes to a considerable extent the general provisions to be included in the rules and in this, as in other respects, it is quite similar to the civil service section of the St. Paul city charter.

¹Ch. 513, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

The Civil Service Commission is given appellate and investigatory powers in addition to its rule-making authority.

The functions of the administrator are those commonly granted in similar statutes. The act places all county employees paid in whole or in part from county funds in the classified service except those of the Board of County Welfare, who are under the statewide merit system for such employees, and certain other groups such as elective officials, judges and court employees, superintendents and principal administrative officers of county departments and institutions, teachers and school administrators, members of non-paid boards and commissions, doctors and nurses, and assistant county attorneys and special investigators.

Incumbent employees as of February 1, 1941, are covered into the classified service subject to a six-months probationary period. Removals, reductions, and suspensions may be appealed by employees to the commission and the latter may uphold, rescind, or modify the disciplinary actions. Decisions of the commissions in such cases also may be appealed to the district court.

Model Law Followed

The St. Louis County act,² which was adopted by the voters of that county by 17,940 to 10,155, is patterned to a substantial degree after the state civil service act of 1939 and the model state civil service law of the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League. It is a much more detailed statute than that for Ramsay County. A Civil Service Commission of three persons, serving on a per diem basis for six-year, overlapping terms, is to be appointed by the county board subject to the ap-

proval of the judges of the district court. The commission is to appoint a civil service director after an open competitive examination conducted by a special committee appointed by the commission for that purpose. The commission is authorized to adopt rules recommended by the director, to hear appeals or complaints concerning the administrative work of the director and disciplinary actions of appointing officers, and to conduct investigations concerning the enforcement of the act.

The civil service director is given full authority to administer the act, and his more important powers and duties are enumerated. Provision is made in the act, among other things, for the classification and allocation of positions, the preparation of salary and wage schedules subject to the approval of the county board, original entrance examinations, lay-offs and re-employment lists, probationary or work test periods, service ratings, transfers, certification of payrolls, and restrictions on political activity. Discharges, demotions, and suspensions may be appealed by employees to the Civil Service Commission which may uphold the action, reinstate the employee or place the employee's name on a re-employment register.

The unclassified service includes much the same positions as those noted in the Ramsay County act above. Incumbent employees of five years service are "blanketed in." All other employees must pass qualifying examinations to be given within two years after the adoption of the act. The county board is directed to appropriate not less than \$15,000 annually for the salaries and expenses of the civil service agency for the first two years and not less than \$10,000 thereafter.

LLOYD M. SHORT

University of Minnesota

²Ch. 423, Laws of Minnesota, 1941.

Los Angeles County Trains Administrators

The important role that urban counties can play in the training of administrators is remarkably demonstrated by the experience of Los Angeles County, California. The success of the county's system of internships is revealed in an article by Harold J. Ostly in *Civic Affairs*, a bulletin published by the University of Southern California.

The internship program fostered by the County Bureau of Administrative Research is now ten years old. Interns usually are graduates with a major in public administration from some California college or university. As interns they spend a year doing administrative research and budgetary investigation under the direction of older and experienced investigators. Many of these investigators are themselves graduates of the internship program.

In their daily work investigators have an opportunity actually to see the inner workings of the various county departments, thus giving them invaluable knowledge of public administration. When, several months before the beginning of the new fiscal year, each county department submits estimates of its proposed expenditures, the Chief Administrative Officer assigns these estimates to the various budget investigators for study and recommendation. The investigator talks to officials, surveys the work, evaluates the proposed program, examines records and accounts, and then presents his recommendations to the budget officer under the Chief Administrative Officer.

Perhaps the primary value of the training first as intern and then possibly as investigator lies in the fact that such experience qualifies one for many positions in administration. The higher administrative positions in the county and in the state are now being

filled by these men, and in the future it is expected there will be increasing demands for them from local, state, and national governments.

Los Angeles County Relaxes Merit Requirements

Perhaps taking its cue from policies of the United States Civil Service Commission, the Los Angeles County, California, Civil Service Commission is giving special examinations for temporary war service appointments. For these appointments education and experience requirements have been lowered, and the maximum age limit has been waived. Employees hired from resultant lists are not eligible to become members of the retirement system.

City-County Health Unit Successful in Kentucky

After nine months the joint health agency of Jefferson County and Louisville, Kentucky, authorized by statute last year, is in full operation. The governing body of the agency is composed of the county judge and the mayor, serving *ex-officio*, and five persons appointed by them jointly. The appointments are for four-year terms and are staggered. The agency is financed jointly by city and county.

Much duplication has been eliminated by the new agency, and all positions requiring special skill and training have been placed under the merit system. A single pharmacist, dentist, and purchasing agent direct these various functions where formerly there were two or three in each. Consolidation of the offices of hospital superintendents is being undertaken. The entire agency is under the unified administrative supervision of the director of health.

Simultaneously with securing economy in administration, the agency has embarked on a program of greater

intensification of several health programs, the most noteworthy perhaps being that of tuberculosis detection and eradication.

San Diego County Builds Military Roads

San Diego County, California, has suspended its long-term highway construction program to make way for the immediate need for military roads, according to Lorin Deewall, engineer of the San Diego County Planning Commission, writing in a recent issue of *Better Roads*. Under plans developed by the Planning Commission and carried into execution by the Board of Supervisors, a system of highways to meet military needs is being constructed at an accelerated pace. Development of military camps, war industries, and naval base activities forced the abandonment of many proposed road plans and placed emphasis on improvement and widening of a few strategic roads with appropriate feeder roads and by-passes for civilian traffic.

The road-building program requires the coöperative efforts of the county, the city of San Diego, the state, the United States Public Roads Administration, and the Army. Actual construction and maintenance, however, usually are county functions. The Army has furnished some of the material and the state is expected to appropriate funds for construction of some essential highways. The cost of maintenance is to be met primarily from the gasoline tax. Although it is estimated that revenue from this source will decrease 10 to 30 per cent in the state next year, since there has been a tremendous increase in automobile registrations in San Diego County and since this is the basis of apportioning gas-tax revenue, it is anticipated that such revenue will be sufficient.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

U. S. to Usurp Control over Local Government?

Threat to cities' independence seen in recent OPA decisions

NEW AND perhaps serious problems may be raised for local governments if several recently reported events are allowed to establish precedents. One of these, the extension of salary and wage control over local governmental units, is discussed in detail in a neighboring column of this issue.¹ The others have to do with federal interference with local revenue systems under the guise of price control.

Instances of application of price control regulations to municipalities are reported by the Municipal Finance Officers Association, which tells that a recent effort by Berkeley, California, to increase its garbage collection charge was vetoed by the OPA agency for the area, while a proposal by San Diego, California, to impose a tax of ten cents per day on each house trailer in the city was similarly squashed.

Regulation Unjust

Details on the cases are not yet reported, but it is difficult to see how there can be any mitigating factors to lessen the shock of the rulings. No attempt to justify the imposition of price control on the grounds that the charges were in connection with proprietary rather than governmental functions would be tenable, since in the Berkeley case garbage collection is a common governmental service and in the San Diego case the regulation of trailers

¹See page 32.

is clearly subject to municipal jurisdiction. Further, it happens that in both Berkeley and San Diego such miscellaneous receipts go into the general funds, and hence are indisputably governmental revenues. If the OPA has the right and power to regulate municipal fees and licenses, it just as clearly must have the right to regulate ad valorem tax rates, which is nonsense.

Serious Threat

It seems to this column that these situations contain a far greater threat to the fiscal and political independence of local government than the much-argued local bond interest tax-exemption question. The power of a federal agency to prevent the imposition of locally-collected charges, whether licenses, fees, taxes, or what not, is nothing more or less than the power to utterly destroy local government. As yet, however, those groups recently jousting with the treasury over a problematical 9/10 of 1 per cent savings to local government resulting from local bond tax exemption have yet to be heard from on this immediate threat to local fiscal independence.

State Liquor Tax Collections Still Increasing

Although present stocks of distilled spirits constitute the total supply for the war's duration, there is as yet no tendency for sales and state tax collections thereon to decrease. On the contrary, state liquor tax revenues for the first eight months of 1942 were 26.8 per cent ahead of the same 1941 period. This figure is based on a reported study by the Federation of Tax Administrators, which examined the trends in twenty-six states, finding whiskey tax collections up roundly 31 per cent in twenty-two states, wine tax collections up 30 per cent in seventeen states, and beer collections in

twenty-six states up nearly 17 per cent.

The Association's figures, it may be noted, run only through August. September collections probably ran at about the same level above September 1941 as had the several preceding months, but in October sharp spurts in consumer buying occurred in anticipation of the new federal excises on alcoholic liquors. This forward buying may be expected to pull down November returns and may also cut into December collections, which are always heavy due to holiday buying. Stocks of liquors are said by representatives of the trade to be sufficient to last several years, so that shortages are not expected to be a factor in 1943 tax returns to the states. However, several states, among them Idaho, Iowa, and Washington, are attempting schemes to ration liquor by allowing permit holders to buy only a specified amount each week, and other states are considering adoption of some such device.

An interesting aspect of the report is that for the eight months much greater revenue increases were sustained by the four "liquor monopoly" states reporting than in those taxing liquors sold by private dealers. In these four states which sell liquor themselves revenues from distilled spirits increased 80 to 85 per cent. Iowa's wine tax collections were up 54 per cent, compared with the 31 per cent national average.

Arizona Court Reaffirms Refunding Bond Decision

The Arizona State Supreme Court has denied a petition for a rehearing on its May decision in the Maricopa County refunding case, and early in November the State Loan Commission advised county officials to proceed with the formalities prerequisite to the call

ing and refunding of \$4,100,000 county highway bonds.

This is the case,¹ it may be briefly recalled, in which the court held that ordinary serial bonds, containing no specific provision that they were callable ahead of maturity, were held by the court to fall within the meaning of an early state statute providing that on demand of local officials the State Loan Commission must proceed to call the obligations and refund them with so-called state refunding bonds. The refunding bonds, although issued by the state, are actually paid with taxes levied and collected by the local unit, the court having cited that the state acts merely as agent in the transactions of issuing and paying the bonds. The case has been regarded as important in raising the question that virtually all local government bonds in Arizona might be held callable under the statute, and in recent legal decisions in connection with new issues bond counsel has pointed out that new issues, even when not authorized under the statute involved in the litigation, might be held to be callable. It is expected that after the State Loan Commission has issued the formal call for the Maricopa County bonds further legal contests will develop, with the likelihood that bondholders will attempt to take the case into the federal courts.

New Financial Setup for Kansas City

Kansas City, Missouri, will revise its financial setup, improving audit, purchasing, budgeting, and debt procedures, under a charter amendment submitted with unanimous approval of the city council and approved by the voters on November 3.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1942, p. 356-7.

First requirement under the charter amendment is an annual audit of municipal accounts, to be conducted by independent auditors selected by the city council. According to the Municipal Finance Officers Association, this procedure now is followed, but is not mandatory.

Purchasing and Budgeting

Purchasing procedure will be revised so that all purchases over fifty dollars must be made through bids, posted publicly before the order is awarded.

The charter changes relating to budget procedure prevent allocating of "lump sums" to various departments, to be spent at the discretion of administrative officials alone. Hereafter appropriations will be made to specific governmental activities and for objects, such as salaries and wages, within each activity.

The previous mandatory requirement that a contingent fund of not less than 3 per cent of the revenues for unanticipated expenses must be included in the budget, whether needed or not, is changed to provide that a reserve of not more than 3 per cent can be included. The City Council instead of the manager, will conduct all budget hearing in the future, and will adopt a tentative budget subject to approval at such a hearing.

Debt Policy Improved

The major financial change resulting from the amendment will be in the city's debt policy. Only serial bonds may be issued in the future, with the first installment due one year after issuance and twenty years set as the maximum term for payment. Sinking fund bonds to be paid in one lump sum from taxes accumulated over a period of years will no longer be used.

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)*

Norris Defeat Charged to Faulty Election System

*Recent Significant
Statements on P. R.*

THE defeat last fall of Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska after forty years of distinguished service in Congress illustrates strikingly two of the major faults in the usual majority system of election.

The system all too frequently sacrifices outstanding leaders of public opinion who have not outlived their usefulness or lost their wide following, just because they have failed to hold a plurality of all the votes within one particular geographical district. The enthusiastic tributes that have been showered on this elder statesman by people of all parties, starting with the President, make it clear that he would have been the enthusiastic choice of many times the entire electorate of Nebraska if everyone had been permitted to vote for him. Even those who differ with him in important matters of policy recognize his value in the Senate and are sorry to see him go.

This result of plurality voting in geographical constituencies has been repeated many times, to the great loss of many nations. Prime Ministers Asquith of Great Britain, Venizelos of Greece, Smuts of South Africa, and Mackenzie-King of Canada were all put out of their respective parliaments at times when their experience could ill be spared because they lost pluralities in the particular limited districts in which they were candidates.

Another defect illustrated by the Norris defeat is the disadvantage at which independent candidates and groups are put under our usual scheme of election. Like-minded independent groups scattered over a number of districts may be many times the number of voters who succeed in electing a candidate in any one district and yet go without representation because they are not sufficiently concentrated in their places of residence to win any local plurality. When all the representation for each district has to be given to one group, the groups that can add organized party strength to the personal popularity of their candidates have a tremendous advantage. Occasionally an outstanding person can overcome even this handicap as Senator Norris did the last time he was elected, without any party's official backing, but even so universally respected a leader as he was unable to continue to do so.

With proportional representation there is hardly a possibility that a leader of Senator Norris' stature could be defeated. There would always be a large enough minority to give him an enthusiastic first choice in any district electing three or more members under P. R. to give him the necessary quota. The majority could vote Republican or Democratic and get a majority of the district's representatives on that basis without excluding the distinguished choice of a substantial independent minority. Probably most of the majority would like it better that way.

The provision of the United States Constitution that "no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate" seems to rule out any likelihood of a full fledged application of proportional representation to the Senate on the basis of equality of voting power, but the particular defects referred to could be

reduced by constitutional amendment by having each state elect three senators together by P. R.

And of course the same defects are present in our methods of electing the national House of Representatives, the legislatures of our forty-eight states, and the legislative bodies of many of our municipalities, where they can be much more easily cured.

Incidentally Senator Norris himself favors the cure. He has been a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League since 1918.

Some Statements Worth Preserving

*From the President of
the New York City Council*

Inasmuch as I have presided over three Councils elected by proportional representation, Mayor LaGuardia asked me if I would express the attitude of the administration on the preferential system of selecting members for local legislative bodies. . .

We never hear of any dissatisfaction with P. R. on the part of groups interested in effective city government.

The enemies of P. R. and concerted efforts to sabotage this system of electing members of the legislative body have always come from political organizations who think only in terms of patronage.

Other opposition to P. R. comes from those who claim that independent candidacies constitute a threat to our two-party system of government.

But a party will prevail and its candidates will be successful in direct proportion to the confidence they inspire.

To my mind, one of the greatest threats to our American form of government has been in the degeneration of our two-party system.

Local government and local taxpayers have been exploited too long by political machines. To this kind of politics P. R. is very definitely a threat.

Sometimes both our parties need a yardstick, which is best supplied by independent candidacies. It has already resulted in the improvement of the calibre of party candidates in New York.

The voter under the old system is usually confronted with two mediocre or inferior candidates for each office. He leaves the voting booth with a sense of futility and, lacking the intestinal fortitude to take part in party affairs, decides not to vote again except in a "presidential year."

If his enthusiasm is aroused for the campaign of a "reform" candidate running for the Council from his district, he may go to the polls again. Although his friends in neighboring districts are also supporting "reform" candidates, and although they may cast 49 per cent of the entire vote throughout the city, their collective effort may go for nothing, and their votes remain as silent protests against official misconduct.

The most vituperative of the opponents of P. R. will tell you that is the "American way," and they will proceed to steal the town.

Argument is made that P. R. might result in the failure of any party to obtain a working majority in a legislative body. This is a possibility under any system of election. This cannot be laid at the door of P. R., but is due to the failure of one party to appeal to a majority of the voters.

With all the hysterical opposition to P. R. and with all the attempts to sabotage it in practice, this system of voting in New York City has justified the claims made for it. A much larger number of individual voters have been

represented on the local legislative body than ever before.

We do not make extravagant claims of perfection. We do claim for proportional representation, however, that as a method of voting it has gone a long way towards improving the functioning of democracy in localities and toward freeing cities of municipal corruption.

NEWBOLD MORRIS, President of the New York City Council, in a statement to Ralph B. Feriola, chairman of the United Citizens of Yonkers, which led the successful defense of P. R. in that city this fall, published in the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* of October 17, 1942.

Results of P. R. in Hamilton

The contrast between the election of so many new councilmen every two years—typical of Hamilton's discarded mayor-council government—and the regular re-election of either five or six of the incumbent council of seven was apparently a consequence of the adoption of proportional representation. Since no such record of continuous service was made under the preceding form, it is reasonable to conclude that the change in method of electing councilmen helped to develop a voting habit of returning them to office.¹

A contributing factor in establishing this habit was the superior quality of the council membership. Better qualified men were induced to serve on the first charter council. A comparison of the lists of councilmen serving on the last seven councils preceding, and the six succeeding, the adoption of the charter shows that the average of the latter possesses wider experience, more education, and higher economic status.

¹This is not merely the result of a voting habit but the usual result when the electorate is truly represented and changes in public opinion are reflected only in proportion to their actual size.
—Editor.

Their work proved to be more satisfactory and the voters, therefore, had more reason to continue them on the council.

HOWARD WHITE, Miami University, in *City Manager Government in Hamilton (Ohio)*, published by the Public Administration Service for the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council, Chicago 1940.

P. R. and Efficient Government

In *The Lost Peace*, Dr. Harold Butler, formerly Director of the I.L.O. and now warden of Nuffield College, surveys the working of governments in Europe. He says: "Only in the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia can it be said that the problem of reconciling strong executive action with the free play of popular representation had been satisfactorily solved." We would add this simple statement of fact—that in all these countries proportional systems have been used for twenty years or more.

Annual Report of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, June 1942.

A Look Ahead in Britain

I wish, on behalf of a group of members in different quarters of the House, to express the satisfaction that we feel that the Home Secretary has again explicitly renewed the pledge he has given on two previous occasions on behalf of the Government. Three times the Government have now given a pledge that, before we have another election, they will secure to Parliament an opportunity for the proper consideration of methods of electoral reform, which we think of the utmost importance if Parliament is to succeed in being worthy of the great tasks before it. We should take steps in time to see that, when a general election comes, it is taken under proper con-

ditions, that everyone who is entitled to take part in it shall have the opportunity—service men and others now far away from their homes and young people of both sexes at present not on the register—but above all we should see that the method of election, both as regards the size of constituencies and the form of election which is in force at the time, shall be truly worthy

of the spirit of democracy and shall really give the opportunity to the Parliament of the future to represent every considerable section of opinion in our midst.

T. EDMUND HARVEY, Member of Parliament for the Combined English Universities (one of four constituencies which elect by P. R.), in the House of Commons, September 30, 1942.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 3)

mined by the President be dealt with by a small Steering Committee to which he would delegate such authority as might be necessary or desirable. The Committee, as selected by President Winant in 1941, has been composed of the following, with additions to be designated from time to time by the President: George H. Gallup, Princeton, New Jersey; Clarence Francis, Bronxville, New York; and Carl H. Pforzheimer, Purchase, New York.

"The procedure above was ratified at the meeting of the League membership in St. Louis, November 18, 1941, and the Steering Committee members named have served since that time and have consented to continue in that capacity.

"Your Nominating Committee is pleased to report President Winant's continuing interest in the League and his strong convictions concerning the need for its work as expressed personally during his last trip to the United States and in the League's correspondence with him.

"Frequently, within limits of trans-Atlantic communication, questions of League policy are taken up with him. There are many matters which require immediate decision, however, and it is therefore recommended that the Council empower the Steering Committee to continue to act where necessary in the President's absence.

"The continuance of the extension of the Executive Committee powers voted by the membership at the Springfield annual meeting in 1940 and again in St. Louis in 1941 is also recommended. These powers, as amended in St. Louis, permit the Executive Committee with the approval of the President or the unanimous approval of the Steering Committee to fill vacancies. This enables the League to fill vacancies among its officers or Council without delay. In making four nominations for the Council, the Nominating Committee leaves two vacancies to be filled by independent nomination or at some later time in accordance with the procedure recommended above."

The committee's report was adopted unanimously.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

The Small Community—Foundation of Democratic Life. By Arthur E. Morgan. New York City, Harper and Brothers, 1942, xxi, 312 pp. \$3.

If American people do in the near future as this provocative book urges them to do, there will be less need for the elaborate tools of public administration which must needs be discussed in this publication; instead of offering advice on "the government of metropolitan areas," the REVIEW will record the trends in village and town councils. For the book is a plea that we consciously plan to save what small communities we have and, by leaving Megalopolis to "the lion and the lizard," make the small community once more the dominant feature of our social, cultural, political, and economic life.

Dr. Morgan designs his volume as well as he did the T. V. A. References to personalities, books, localities, and history are so overwhelming that one wonders how many years of alertness to material and patient note-taking have gone into it.

Dr. Morgan's major premise is stated on page 33: "The idea that man is a small community animal is supported by the science of anthropology." But the term "small community" is not interpreted in all its manifestations as exclusively geographic. Dr. Morgan suggests rather that it is this deep-seated anthropologic need which leads men in a large urban area to create within it communities having other bases than geography. It is the sublimation of this need which is the subject of one of his most important chapters, Chapter XIII on "The Community Council." This is not a New England town meeting but an "extra legal" body in which each delegate represents

a non-geographic interest pursued in the same geographic area as the other interests represented. The chapter is of special interest to the National Municipal League for the creation and guidance of such councils has been one of its major interests for over a decade. Early in the depression, at the request of some fifty national organizations meeting in Washington, the League became official headquarters for the National Federation of Citizens Councils and under its leadership many local councils were organized throughout the country. The large amount of work it has done in this field is not mentioned in the chapter, nor anywhere else in the book unless it be in the "several independent origins" spoken of on page 145. The aid the League could give such councils has been limited only by the finance factor; if this book makes it possible for "Community Service, Inc." of which Dr. Morgan is president, to render a fuller service in this important field none will rejoice more than those of us who urged and organized community councils even before the economic depression and who still see them, as Dr. Morgan does, as of vital importance to the full functioning of democracy.

The author has the courage to deal with one troublesome characteristic of all small communities, whether they be Chinese and Arabian villages or an "interest community," that is, scorn for one who departs from its mores. He deals with this subject at some length in his chapter entitled "The Problem," and gives his last three chapters to discussion of phases of it. We should not plan to set up small communities if no one in them dare "lose face"; unless freedom exists for

the non-conformist, democracy will not be real. The danger is there as experience shows but the author has faith that if we use intelligence small communities "can be the home of tolerance and freedom."

The words above conclude the book though a stimulating list of "Suggested Readings" follows. This is appropriate for the book is written by a man whose career shows that the main factor in any situation is not chance, nor fate, nor economics, but a combination of human idealism and intelligence and will.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Area Analysis—A Method of Public Works Planning. By a special subcommittee of the Land Committee, National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. 34 pp. 15 cents.

Methods of dissecting a geographical area, with its material and human resources and needs, and then synthesizing the findings into a program to meet the needs of the area and aid the national economy, are always important for wise direction of development. They are vital requirements for the effort to forestall postwar disintegration and to guide the transition toward a maximum of positive public benefit.

This pamphlet presents an "integrated area analysis" method for relatively quick use in meeting these needs; it has been utilized in various test areas of rural character but is considered applicable to others, and possible of adaptation to metropolitan areas. Wide participation in the work by citizen groups is urged as essential.

A somewhat pedantic presentation tends to obscure the direct logic and relative simplicity of the method, which merits extensive study and use.

H. M. O.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Automotive Conservation

New York City's Need for Automotive Conservation Training. Addresses by F. H. LaGuardia, Mayor, and Albert Pleydell, Commissioner of Purchase. New York City, Bureau of Training, Civil Service Commission, 1942. 5 pp.

Billboards

Aesthetics and the Constitution. Opinion in the case of *Commonwealth v. Earl R. Trimmer*, Court of Quarter Sessions of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. New York City, National Roadside Council, 1942. 12 pp.

Child Welfare

Day Care of Children of Working Mothers. A Bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1942. 10 pp. Thirty-five cents.

The Rural Child in the War Emergency. Report of a Conference on the Rural Child in the War Emergency, Called Jointly by the Committee on Rural Education and the American Council on Education, Chicago, July 10 and 11, 1942. By C. S. Marsh. Chicago, The Committee on Rural Education, 1942. ix, 37 pp. Ten cents.

Democracy

Democracy, Efficiency, Stability. An Appraisal of American Government. By Arthur C. Millspaugh. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1942. x, 522 pp. \$4.

Democracy Through Public Opinion. By Harold D. Lasswell. New York City, George Banta Publishing Company, 1941. 176 pp. \$1.50.

Parks

Municipal and County Parks in the United States 1940. A report of a Study Conducted by the National Park Service with the Coöperation of the American Institute of Park Executives and the National Recreation Association under the Direction of George D. Butler. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1942. viii, 173 pp. \$1.50.

Planning

A List of References on Orientation of Buildings and Streets. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1942. 4 pp.

Residential Chicago. Volume One of the Report of the Chicago Land Use Survey directed by the Chicago Plan Commission and conducted by the Work Projects Administration. Chicago, 1942. xxxvii, 225 pp., maps, charts.

Postwar Planning

Postwar Agenda. Washington, D. C., National Resources Planning Board, 1942. 16 pp.

Real Estate

Bibliography on Urban Real Estate Appraisal (Supplemental to *Bibliography on Urban Real Estate Appraisal* compiled in 1937 by Adelaide R. Hasse). By Mary B. Devitt. Washington, D. C., Central Housing Committee on Appraisal and Mortgage Analysis, 1942. 59 pp.

Recreation

Proceedings of the War Recreation Congress. 27th National Recreation Congress, Cincinnati, Ohio, September 28 to October 2, 1942. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1942. 230 pp. \$1.

Streets

The Financing of Urban Streets—a Supplementary Statement. By Frederick N. MacMillin. Submitted to the Board of Investigation and Research on October 5, 1942, on behalf of the American Municipal Association. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1942. 16 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Effects of the 1942 Revenue Act on Municipalities. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1942. 4 pp. 25 cents.

State and Local Wartime Fiscal Problems: Regional Reports on Round Table Discussions Held in Seattle, Detroit, Denver, Boston, and Florida. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 19 pp. Twenty-five cents.

State Finances in 1940. State Automobile-User Revenues in 1941. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1942. 27 and 6 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1942. Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Tax Institute, 1942. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Transportation

The Future of Transportation. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942. 43 pp.

Transportation and National Policy. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. xi, 513 pp. \$1.25.

War and Defense

Areas of Child-Youth Defense Activities with Special Reference to School Leadership and Instruction in Wartime. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 1942. 8 pp.